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THE LIFE OF OTTO APOSTLE OF POMERANIA

C. H. ROBINSON, D.D.,

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TRANSLATIONS OF CHRISTIAN LITERATURE . SERIES II
LATIN TEXTS

THE LIFE OF OTTO APOSTLE OF POMERANIA 1060 ~ 1139 BY EBO AND HERBORDUS

CHARLES H. ROBINSON, D.D.

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LIFE OF OTTO

INTRODUCTION

THE story of Otto's missionary labours which gained for him the title of the apostle of Pomerania, constitutes one of the most striking chapters in the history of the evangelization of Europe, and it is not a little strange that this story has never been translated or told at length in the English language. Although the time during which Otto laboured as a missionary outside his own country was comparatively short, nevertheless as judged by outward and visible results he was the most successful of all the missionaries to whom the conversion of Europe was ultimately due. In view of the many and difficult problems that confront us to-day in the non-Christian lands where missionaries are now labouring, we cannot afford to neglect the light and the inspiration which can be obtained from a careful study of the ideals, the methods and the experiences of the great missionaries of early and mediæval times, of whose work any detailed record has been preserved.

In some instances the accounts composed by contemporary or nearly contemporary biographers are fragmentary and of doubtful value, but in the case of Otto we are fortunate in possessing six biographies all of which emanate from the district in which Otto lived and two at least of which may claim to be the work of contemporaries.

From the accounts given by his two earliest

biographers, Ebo[1] and Herbordus, we gather that Otto came from a noble Swabian family. His parents died when he was young, and as his brother, to whom they left most of their property, was unwilling to contribute towards his support, he was early thrown upon his own resources. Thus Herbordus writes:

"Otto, having carefully studied the works of some of the poets and philosophers and having committed to his tenacious memory the rules of grammar and metre, could not afford the expense of further education and was unwilling to ask help from his brother, or other relations, having acquired a sense of shame and of self-respect in early youth. He accordingly went to Poland, where he knew that there was a lack of educated men, and took over a boys' school, and by teaching others and at the same time instructing himself, he gained much in a short time and was held in honour. He learned also the language of that country and adorned its literature by his teaching relating to thrift, frugality and purity. By these studies he gained the favour of all, even of the great and powerful, being assisted by his elegant personal appearance. Moreover he gave attention to social and personal intercourse and fitted himself to take part in embassies and in conversations of various kinds, with important persons."[2] In course of time he won the favour of the Duke of Poland and, after the death of his first wife in 1085, was instrumental in helping to arrange his marriage with Judith, the sister of the Emperor, Henry IV. After the death of Judith Otto went to live at Ratisbon, where the abbess treated him "like another Joseph" and made him ruler over all her house. On one occasion the

[1] In the XIIth century this name was written "Ebo"; Andreas at the end of the XVth century wrote "Ebbo," and his spelling has been followed by some later writers.

[2] *Herbordi Dialogus*, III. 32

Emperor came to stay with the abbess and, having become acquainted with Otto, invited him to become his chancellor.[1] Soon afterwards the bishopric of Bamberg became vacant and on Christmas Day, 1102, the Emperor announced the appointment of Otto to the vacant see. In announcing his appointment he stated that persons of rank and influence had offered him large sums of money in order to secure this appointment for themselves, but he had chosen the man who excelled all others in wisdom and devotion. On approaching Bamberg, although it was the depth of winter, Otto alighted from his horse and walked with bare feet to the cathedral church.[2] He delayed his consecration as bishop for three years in order that he might not enter upon his duties until he had become fully acquainted with the conditions prevailing in his diocese, and at the close of 1105 he applied for consecration as bishop to Pope Paschal II.,[3] and on Whitsunday (May 13) in the following year he was consecrated at Rome.[4] He did not enter Bamberg as bishop till the beginning of 1107. Soon afterwards he began to build a number of new churches and monasteries, and to restore the monastery of St. Michael, which he enriched with many gifts. This monastery was in part destroyed by an earthquake in 1117 and was then rebuilt on an enlarged scale and with great magnificence (1117–21). Many other monasteries, the occupants of which had become lax and irreligious, he endeavoured to reform. He founded altogether twenty new monasteries in Bamberg and other

[1] This is the account given by Ebo (I. 3), who says, however, that other authorities state that Otto was introduced to the Emperor by Judith. This latter statement is also made by Herbordus.

[2] The result of this action was that "unde et postmodum sæpius vehementissimo podagræ dolore cruciabatur" (Ebo I. 9).

[3] His letter to the Pope is given in *Udalrici Codex*, No. 128.

[4] He visited Rome again in 1110 when he accompanied the Emperor Henry V., and on this occasion he received the pallium from the Pope.

neighbouring dioceses. The reasons which led to his undertaking missionary work in Pomerania and the circumstances under which his work was commenced are described at length by his two principal biographers, whose accounts we have translated.

At the time in which Otto lived the inhabitants of Pomerania were nearly all pagans, though several attempts had previously been made to evangelize their country. In very early times Pomerania was inhabited by Celts who gave way later on to Teutons. These, from the beginning of the sixth century, had to a large extent been displaced by Slavs. The Polish Duke Boleslav I. conquered the country east of the River Oder and compelled the conquered people to receive representatives of the Christian faith. Reinbern, who was appointed bishop of Colberg in A.D. 1000, was of German nationality, and being greatly disliked by the pagan inhabitants was able to do but little to secure their conversion to Christianity. He was eventually murdered in 1015 as he was on his way to Russia. For more than a century afterwards the inhabitants of Eastern Pomerania lived in a state of constant warfare with their Polish neighbours, and though each successive invasion of their country was followed by the compulsory baptism of a section of the people, Christianity continued to be regarded as the religion of their conquerors and made little progress amongst them. In 1121 the Polish Duke Boleslav III. ravaged the country west of the River Oder with fire and sword and announced his intention of converting all the inhabitants to the Christian faith, or of destroying them, in the event of their refusing to be converted. It was at his invitation that Otto undertook his first missionary tour. Our respect for Otto is increased by the knowledge that, although physical force was almost always at his disposal, he never made use of it either to protect himself from being murdered, or to

enforce the acceptance of his preaching. It is true that at Stettin and on one or two other occasions he reminded those to whom he preached of the material benefits which might result from their acceptance of the faith, and of the political danger which might befall their country if they persisted in rejecting his message, but he always preferred to rely upon gentler influences and never hesitated to run any personal risk, in order to promote the conversion of the people whom he desired to help.

His Methods of Action

(1) Otto deliberately attempted to appeal to the people of Pomerania by a display of personal wealth, although his own habits were ascetic and his private life was a model of self-denial. Several stories are told of his life at Bamberg which illustrate this latter statement. Thus, when on one occasion he received a valuable dress wrought with gold and silver from one who desired that he would wear it in remembrance of him, he replied, "I will preserve the precious gift so carefully that neither moth shall corrupt nor thieves steal it," and having said this he called the man who superintended his wardrobe and said, "Take this beautiful covering which is dear to me and place it on that paralytic," pointing to a man who had long been ill, and the odour arising from whose ulcers was a distress to all the neighbourhood.[1] His reason for making a display of wealth and even of luxury in Pomerania was that he desired to convince the inhabitants that he had not undertaken the rôle of a missionary for any selfish or mercenary object and hoped to obtain from them in consequence a more respectful hearing. We may compare with his action that of Francis Xavier in his progress through parts of Japan.

[1] Cf. *Canisii Lectiones Antiquæ*, Vol. III. lib. 3. p. 90.

(2) In common with nearly all early and mediæval missionaries Otto endeavoured to secure the conversion of the peoples whom he sought to influence by appealing in the first instance to the upper and better-educated classes. The principle enunciated by the Duke Wortizlaus during Otto's second missionary tour was generally recognized and acted upon. The Duke said, "It is for us who are the chiefs and men of importance to have regard to this most deserving matter so that the people who are subject to us may be instructed by our example. For whatever religion or virtue is to be attempted, I say that it is more correct that it should pass from the head to the members than from the members to the head. In the primitive Church indeed, as we have heard, the Christian faith began with the common people, and spread to the middle classes, and then affected the chiefs of the world. Let us reverse the custom of the primitive Church, so that the holiness of the divine religion, beginning with us who are chiefs and passing on to the middle classes by an easy progress, may enlighten the whole people and race."[1]

This speech made by the Duke to his nobles and chiefs, resulted in the baptism of a large number of the people, but the subsequent history of Pomerania, as of many other countries in Europe, tended to show that when a religion is recommended to a people by those who are possessed of political power, its influence is unlikely to prove either deep or lasting.

(3) Another feature of Otto's work, which the missionary experience of the Christian Church in all lands justifies us in condemning, was his readiness to baptize any who professed their willingness to accept the faith without insisting upon the need for careful and prolonged instruction. It would be possible to quote instances, in many different countries,

[1] *Herbordi Dialogus*, III. 3.

where missionaries have worked in ancient, mediæval, and modern times, which tend to prove that the policy of baptizing any who desire to be baptized in the hope that they may later on learn to appreciate the significance of baptism is a policy that can only result in the creation of a superficial Christianity, and which will render impossible, at least for many generations, the development of a strong branch of the Christian Church. One instance of the policy adopted by Otto is afforded by the occurrence that took place at Pyritz where, according to Ebo, Otto baptized 7,000 converts after a preparation lasting only twenty days. In Stettin, where he remained for three months, he left behind him 22,156 men who had been baptized. It is uncertain whether this number included women or children.[1]

(4) Yet another reason which helps to explain why the Church founded by Otto failed to develop on satisfactory lines after his death, or to become the Church of the people, is supplied by his failure to arrange for the training of any Pomeranian clergy, and his reliance upon German clergy who, in customs, dispositions, and language, differed widely from those to whom they ministered. The only reference to the provision of a native clergy occurs in Otto's speech at Pyritz as reported by Herbordus (II. 18) in which he says, "I exhort and invite you, for it is not right that I should use force, to hand over some of your children to perform the office of the priesthood after they have received a liberal education and have been carefully taught, so that, like other races, ye may have clergy and priests speaking your own tongue and conversant with Latin." No attempt appears to have been made either by Otto or his successors to carry into effect the policy here indicated. He did not himself learn the Pomeranian language but was entirely dependent upon the services of

[1] See *Vita Ebonis*, II. ii.

an interpreter. Moreover he took no steps to provide a translation of the Bible in the Pomeranian language.

The large measure of success that he attained was due to his courage, his faith and his humility. Again and again he showed himself ready to face death in order that he might preach the gospel to those who had rejected his first advances, and his chief regret in connection with his work in Pomerania was that he had failed to win a martyr's crown. In the darkest hour of his campaigns, when many who had been baptized had apostatized, and when the courage of his companions failed, his faith in God continued unshaken. Lastly his humility, which is illustrated by his readiness to accept rebuffs and to endure insults and privations, appealed to his fierce auditors and endeared him not a little to his companions and fellow-workers.

Miracles attributed to Otto

It is interesting to note that although the two earliest biographies of Otto were written whilst many who had known him intimately were still living, and although the writers had access to some who had accompanied Otto throughout his missionary journeys, they both record a number of miracles, some of which are attributed to Otto and some to his companions. Those attributed to Otto are for the most part miracles performed for the benefit of the sick, whilst those attributed to his companions resulted in the death of those who refused to listen to their teaching and on whom they had invoked divine vengeance. Our unwillingness to accept as credible these latter miracles weakens the appeal of the former which are recorded by the same writers.

Wulfram II., abbot of St. Michael's, writing fifty years after the death of Otto, composed a further

account of miracles which were said to have occurred at the tomb of Otto. His account was composed in order that it might be submitted to Pope Clement III., to support the request that Otto might be canonized. This is given in *Mon. Germ.* SS. XII. 911–16, also in *Mon. Bambergensia*, pp. 836–41. Otto's canonization took place in 1189.

Lives of Otto

The importance of the work accomplished by Otto may, to some extent, be inferred from the fact that at least three lives were issued within a few years of his death. To these we may add three additional biographies published later and founded upon the former. The six lives are—

1. Life of Otto, written by Ebo.
2. A dialogue concerning Otto bishop of Bamberg by Herbordus.
3. Life of Otto, by a monk of the Prüfling monastery.
4. A short Life of Otto founded on that of Ebo.
5. Life of Otto by an anonymous writer.
6. Life of Otto by Andreas, Abbot of Michelsberg

Much controversy has arisen in regard to the relative dates and values of the first three lives. Klempin, a German critic, maintained that the Life of Herbordus should be placed first in respect both of its date of publication and its value as history. This view was supported by Koepke in 1853, but, in a later work published by him in 1868,[1] he abandoned his former opinion and maintained that Ebo was the earlier writer, and that Herbordus had his work before him when he composed his Dialogue.

[1] See *Herbordi Dialogus de vita Ottonis ex recensione Rudolfi Kopke*, edited by Pertz, Hanover, 1868.

This latter view is supported by Jaffé[1] and by Juritsch,[2] and is now generally accepted.

In regard to 3, Giesebrecht[3] has endeavoured to show that it is the oldest of the existing lives, but nearly all other critics support the view that the unknown monk belonging to the Prüfling monastery based his Life upon the Lives of Ebo and Herbordus.[4] This view is not inconsistent with the supposition that he supplemented the information that he derived from their works by information obtained from men who had been personally acquainted with Otto. His work contains hardly any information which is not also found in the Lives by Ebo and Herbordus.

The Life of Ebo[5] was probably written in 1151, that by Herbordus in 1158, and that by the Prüfling monk a few years later.

Dr. Georg Haag, in an article entitled "Beiträge zur Quellenkritik der Lebenbeschreibungen des Bischofs Otto I. von Bamberg,"[6] also maintains that the Life by the monk of Prüfling is the earliest of the three. He succeeds in showing that the theory that all three were to a large extent indebted to a common source is untenable.

This Life of Otto is printed in *Mon. Germ.* SS. XII. 883-903 under the title of "Monachi Prieflingensis vita Ottonis."

Ebo[7] does not claim to have had any actual

[1] See *Monumenta Bambergensia*, edited by Philippus Jaffé, Berlin, 1869, pp. 580–7.

[2] *Geschichte des Bischofs Otto I. von Bamberg des Pommern Apostels*, by Georg Juritsch, Gotha, 1889, pp. 1–9.

[3] *Wendische Geschichte*, III. p. 340 f.

[4] See "Die Biographien des Bischofs Otto," by Klempin in *Baltische Studien*, IX. 147-191; Koepke, XII. p. 742; Jaffé, p. 703.

[5] See *Quelle, Gewährsmann und Alter der ältesten Lebensbeschreibung des Pommernapostels Otto von Bamberg.* Pub. at Halle, 1874.

[6] See *Forschungen zur Deutschen Geschichte*, XVIII. S.S. 242–64, Göttingen, 1878.

[7] The name of Otto's biographer appears as Ebo in the Necrology of S. Michaelis written in the XIIth century. Andreas the Abbot of St. Michael's monastery writing at the close of the XVth century spells it Ebbo.

intercourse with Otto, though he may quite possibly have had as he was apparently in the monastery of St. Michael when Otto died there.[1] He claims to have received much of his information from Udalricus, who had been the intimate friend and companion of Otto.

Ebo died May 16, 1163.

Herbordus, who died in 1168, became a member of St. Michael's monastery in 1145. Although he was certainly acquainted with Ebo's Life he never once alludes either to him or to his work. His reticence is probably to be explained by the fact that after the death of Otto grievous discords arose within the monastery, and as a result of the opposition raised by Herbordus and other monks, the Abbot Helmericus was compelled to resign (1160). It is probable that Ebo had sided with Helmericus, and that for this reason Herbordus treated him and his work with contempt. Herbordus had not himself seen Otto.[2]

In his second book, *i. e.* in his description of Otto's first missionary journey, he was able to provide information obtained from various sources and was independent of Ebo's work. In this book it would seem as though he had purposely avoided referring to the incidents that are narrated by Ebo. In writing his third book his independent sources of information were much more limited and his narrative shows signs of having been copied from, or suggested by that of Ebo. In some cases he has copied words and phrases from his predecessor.[3] In other instances he would appear to have been dependent upon Ebo

[1] Cf. *Vita* III. 25. Quam (visionem) tempore dormitionis beatissimi patris nostri ex ore ejusdem senioris Lyppoldi audivimus.

[2] Ipsum autem in carne non vidi.

[3] Compare Ebo III. 10, legati marchionis Adelberti . . . supervenere, with the similar statement in Herbordus III. 8: or evangelicum . . . de evangelio vivere . . . sumptibus, in Ebo III. 9, with similar words in Herb. III. 8.

for his information but to have deliberately introduced changes, or made additions which are almost certainly incorrect. His lack of local knowledge is shown by the fact that he describes Ucrania as an island.

4. During the last decade of the twelfth century a short Life founded directly on that by Ebo was published[1] in order to be circulated at Rome. A number of alterations which appear in this Life were introduced in order to show that Otto was much more subservient to the Bishop of Rome than is suggested in Ebo's Life.

5. A Life which reproduces almost word for word the Life of Herbordus, but which substitutes a continuous narrative for the dialogue form adopted by Herbordus, was issued later by an anonymous writer, soon after 1189.[2]

6. The Life compiled by Andreas, Abbot of St. Michael's monastery (1483–1502) was prepared at the request of Benedict, Bishop of Camin.[3] It furnishes no additional information concerning Otto's work in Pomerania.

We must also mention a poem entitled "Commendatio pii Ottonis" which was composed probably in St. Michael's monastery soon after the publication of the first three lives and was founded on them.[4]

Several letters addressed by Otto to various persons are also extant.[5]

The present volume consists of the second and

[1] See work entitled "Ebo coarctatus" in the *Acta Sanctorum* for July 2, Tom. I, pp. 425–49.

[2] This Life is given by Canisius, in his *Thesaurus monumentorum ecclesiasticorum*, Ed. 1725, Tom. III. Pars II. pp. 37–96, also in the *Acta* S.S. for July 2, pp. 378–425.

[3] This Life is given in the *Acta* S.S. for July 2, pp. 456–65.

[4] For an account of this poem see Koepke, p. 910 f. and Klempin, *Balt. Stud.* IV. p. 236. Klempin considers that this poem may be older than any of the existing lives.

[5] See *Epistolæ et diplomata Ottonis*, Migne, P.L., vol. 173. Migne also gives the long address delivered by Otto at Pyritz,

third books of Ebo's Life of Otto, which refer to Otto's missionary labours in Pomerania. Book I., which begins with an account of Otto's early days which I have here summarized, consists largely of a detailed account of the founding of St. Michael's monastery at Bamberg, and throws little light upon Otto's life and character.

Where Herbordus supplies information relating to Otto's work in Pomerania which is not given by Ebo I have added this to the text, indicating the source from which it comes by placing it in brackets. In his second book Herbordus supplies a large amount of material which is not found in Ebo's Life, but his third book contains comparatively little information which is not given by Ebo. In a few instances in which Ebo and Herbordus both describe the same incident and in which the account given by Herbordus is fuller and more picturesque than that given by Ebo, I have inserted both. I have referred in footnotes to the very few statements made by the Prüfling monk which are not found in Ebo or Herbordus.

Manuscripts

The best MS. of Ebo's Life of Otto is preserved in the University Library of Erlangen 248 (K.m. 142), and dates from the end of the XIIth or the beginning of the XIIIth century.

The Codex Bambergensis, Rf. II. 17, preserved at Stettin, which was written in 1499, contains the greater part of the Dialogue by Herbordus, and the Codex Monacensis 23582 (*ZZ.* 582), written in the XIVth century, also preserved at Stettin, contains the whole of the Dialogue. The text which appears in the *Mon. Germ.* S.S. XX. 704–69 is taken from this manuscript.

The earliest MS. of the anonymous Life, which was apparently compiled from the Dialogue of Herbordus, is the Codex Monacensis 14,726 (S. Emmerammi Ratisbonensis 726), which was written at the end of the XIIth century.

The Life by Andreas is contained in the Codex Caminensis preserved in the library at Stettin. It was written in 1487. It is also contained in the Codex Bambergensis, Rf. II. 17, preserved in Berlin, which was written in 1499.

The Life entitled "Ebo coarctatus," which is given in the *Acta Sanctorum* and was written for circulation in Rome, is found in the Codex Halesbrunnensis 248 preserved at Erlangen, which dates from the end of the XIIth, or the beginning of the XIIIth century.

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Ottonis Vita auctore monacho Prieflingensi is given in the *Mon. Germ.* S.S. edited by Koepke, Vol. XII. 822–83; also in Vol. III. of Canisii Lectiones antiquae. It is also given in the Acta S.S.

Sancti Ottonis Epistolae et Diplomata intermiscentur variorum ad ipsum litterae. Migne, Pat. Lat. CLXXIII. 1313–56. These include two letters addressed in 1103 and 1106 by Otto to Paschal II.; a letter addressed to the Church at Bamberg in 1106 announcing his consecration at Rome and soliciting their help and prayers; three letters written in 1119, 1121, and 1123, relating to the building of St. Michael's

monastery, and several other letters referring to the building or restoration of other monasteries. Migne also gives the sermon preached by Bishop Embrico of Wurzburg, on the occasion of Otto's funeral.

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BOOK II

I. THE world was getting old and the age was drawing to a close when Divine compassion determined to enlighten with the lustre of the faith the Pomeranians, who had hitherto been submerged in the errors of heathenism ; even as it is written, "The gospel must first be preached to all nations" ;[1] and sent to them an apt minister of the Word, the pious bishop Otto. He was one who, being intent on winning souls, expanded like the morning star in the midst of a cloud, and glittered even as the full moon, and shone forth like the sun amongst his fellow bishops.[2]

[H. II. I. The derivation of the word Pomerania appears to indicate the nature of its name and situation. For Pommo in the Slavonic language is equivalent to near, or around, and Moriz is equivalent to sea. Hence the word Pomerizania denotes that which is situated near or round about the sea. This country, if we have regard to its situation both in the swamps and in the parts overflowed by the sea, and in the low-lying ground, can be described as triangular, inasmuch as on three sides three lines which join together at their extremities make three angles, one of which is more obtuse than the others ; the line forming

[1] St. Mark xiii. 10.

[2] Cf. Ecclesiasticus l. 6,7. "He (Simon the high priest) was as the morning star in the midst of a cloud and as the moon at the full, as the sun shining upon the temple of the most High."

this angle stretches to Leuticia and towards Saxony and bends back again towards the north and the sea. Accordingly Pomerania on its sea front is contiguous to Dacia and the small but populous island of Rugia, and above it on the north is Flavia (Livonia) and Prussia and Ruscia. In front, that is in the direction of the dry land, it faces at one point the adjacent territories of Hungary and Moravia. It has then Polonia as its neighbour for a long space as far as the confines of Leuticia and Saxony. The Pomeranian people being skilled fighters both by land and sea and being used to live by loot and spoils, and owing to their natural fierceness having never been conquered, were far removed from Christian faith and refinement. Their country is extremely fertile and furnishes an abundance of fish and of wild beasts and of all kinds of grains and spelt. No country abounds more in honey, and none is richer in pasture and grass. Its inhabitants neither possess nor desire wine, but their honeyed drinks and carefully prepared beer surpass even the wines of Falernum. Of these we shall speak later on, but we have now to explain, what is a matter of surprise to many, why these men who are so far removed from Eastern France and from the Church of Bamberg and in fact from almost the entire world, were unable to obtain from the nearer kingdoms or Churches baptism, or any preacher other than the Bishop of Bamberg. This fruit was granted to him by God for the increase of his happiness.

II. At the time when the Bishop of Bamberg was ruling the Church of that place, Bolezlaus, a vigorous and prudent man distinguished by his ancient and noble ancestry, was administering the dukedom of Polonia. By conducting himself with diligence and foresight he succeeded in recovering with a strong arm the territories on the borders of his own country, which in the time of his predecessors had been invaded and ravaged by enemies, together with the camps and

towns which had been forcibly detached from his rule.]

To those who desire to know how it was that Otto became an apostle (to Pomerania) I will reveal that which I heard from the mouth of Udalricus, the servant of God and priest of the church of the blessed Egidius, which was built by Otto. The ripeness of his character and his fidelity both to God and to man compel me to believe him though I have not seen with my own eyes the things of which he speaks.

He said that there was a bishop named Bernhard, endued with marvellous sanctity and knowledge, who was a Spaniard by race, but had been chosen and consecrated as a bishop at Rome. For some time he had lived the life of a hermit together with other servants of God, but, after that a certain heretical bishop had been deposed from his office at Rome, he was brought by the will of God from the desert and chosen as his successor. When he saw that his Church was torn by a dreadful schism—inasmuch as one half of it supported him, whilst the other half supported the bishop who had been deposed, being a prudent and learned man, he considered that God was not to be found where counsels were divided. Accordingly he perceived that some concession must be made to the occasion and the evil times and, after laying aside his pastoral care, he contemplated returning to the desert, as he himself declared in the word of Athanasius,[1] "If this storm has arisen because of me, take me and cast me into the sea." When then he heard that Pomerania was still addicted to the errors of heathenism, being armed with holy zeal, he turned aside from his purpose in order to preach the Gospel there. His desire was that he might either unite its people by

[1] The words quoted should be attributed to Gregory of Nazianzus and were spoken at the Synod of Constantinople in 381: see *Gregorii Naz. Carmen de vita sua vv.* 1839-41.

faith to the Catholic Church, or that he might obtain the glory of martyrdom and lay down his life on behalf of Christ. For he despised this present life and was wont to treat his body with the utmost severity, being content with a little dry food, and drinking nothing but water.

He went accordingly to the Duke of Polonia[1] and was received by him with honour as a servant of God. When he had explained to him the object of his journey the Duke said that he rejoiced to behold his ardent zeal, but the ferocity of this nation was so great that it would kill him rather than submit to the yoke of the faith. The bishop replied with a firm voice that he had come for this purpose and that, if need should arise, he was prepared to receive unhesitatingly sentence of death for the love of Christ. The Duke, overjoyed at his response, gave him an interpreter and a guide as he desired, and prayed that God would give him success.

Though a bishop he was careful to retain both humility and poverty, for he knew that the kingdom of the Devil was destroyed by the humility, and not by the power of Christ, and that whoso shares his poverty with Christ has sufficient riches, and he entered the city of Julin[2] dressed in a despicable garment and with bare feet, and there strove with diligence to scatter the seeds of the catholic faith. The citizens, who despised him on account of his bodily appearance, for they knew not how to judge save by outward appearance, asked who he was or by whom he had been sent. He declared that he was the servant of the true God, the Maker of heaven and earth, and had been sent by Him in order that he might lead them from the error of idolatry into the way of truth. They, however, replied with indignation, "How can we believe that you are the messenger of the supreme God? Whereas He is full of glory and endowed with

[1] Boleslav III. [2] Also written Wollin.

all wealth, you are despicable and are so poor that you cannot even provide shoes for your feet. We will not receive you nor listen to you. For the supreme God would never send to us so abject a messenger, but, if He really desired our conversion, He would visit us by sending a fit person who would worthily represent His power. If then you have any regard for your life, return as quickly as possible to the place from which you came and cease to do despite to the supreme God by pretending that you have been sent by Him, for it is only to relieve your poverty that you have come hither." Bernhard, who became bolder and more steadfast as danger drew near, said, "If you do not believe my words, believe my works. Set fire to some house that has collapsed through old age and is not of use to anyone, and throw me into the midst: if, when the house has been consumed by the flames, I shall come out from the fire uninjured, then know that I have been sent by Him to whose rule fire and every created thing is subject, and whom all the elements serve." The priests and elders of the people, when they heard this, conferred together and said, "This is a foolish and desperate person who, constrained by excessive poverty, seeks death and goes of his own accord to meet it. We are beset by his villainy, which seeks to exact vengeance because he has been rejected by us, and to involve us in his own destruction. For if one house is set on fire, the destruction of the whole city must follow. We ought therefore to take care and not to listen to one who is of unsound mind; nor is it wise for us to kill a barefooted stranger. For our brothers, the Prussians, some years ago[1] killed one named Adalbert, who preached like this man, and as a result oppression and misfortune overtook them and all that they possessed was destroyed. If then we desire to consider our own interest, we shall do

[1] One hundred and twenty-five years before, *i.e.* in 997.

this man no injury but expel him from our territory and, having placed him on board a ship, make him cross the sea to some other land." Meanwhile Bernhard, the servant of God, inflamed with the desire of martyrdom, seized an axe and attempted to cut down an immense column which was dedicated to Julius Cæsar, from whom the city of Julin took its name. The pagans would not permit this, and rushing upon him with great anger struck him in cruel fashion and left him half dead. When they had departed a monk named Peter came running to Bernhard and gave him his hand, whereupon Bernhard arose, and, after regaining his strength, began again to declare the word of salvation to the people. But the priests drew him with insolence from amongst the people and placed him with his monk and interpreter on his own boat, saying, "If you have so great a desire to preach, preach to the fishes of the sea and the fowls of the air, and beware that you presume not to cross the boundary of our land, for there is not a single person who will receive you." Bernhard in accordance with the gospel command shook off the dust of his feet against them and returned to the Duke of Polonia, and told him with tears what had befallen him. The Duke said to him, "Did I not tell you before that the Pomeranians would by no means accept the faith? You should not therefore make trial of their snarling folly, for they are profane and unworthy of the word of salvation." The bishop replied, "They are animals and are altogether ignorant of spiritual gifts, and so they judge a man only by his outward appearance. Me they rejected on the ground of my poverty, but if some influential preacher, whose honour and wealth they would respect, were to go to them, I expect that they would of their own accord submit to the yoke of Christ." During several days the Duke rendered due reverence to the servant of God, and whilst he furnished him with the

means of subsistence, the words which Bernhard spoke helped to nourish his own spiritual life. Meanwhile a Court Council was held in the city of Bamberg,[1] where the worthy Bishop Bernhard met the principal men of the kingdom who had come together, to all of whom he seemed as one who had attained to the perfection of knowledge, wisdom, and all other virtues. For the venerable priest, Heimo, who was a canon of the church of St. James, and has left us many monuments of his ability, learnt from this servant of Christ the art of calculation which, as practised by his ordinary companions, he had found to be obscure and intricate, not to say false. He conferred with him carefully concerning the years that elapsed between the beginning of the world and the death of Christ, and again between the time of Christ and our own time, for he knew that the reckoning of the common chronologies in no way harmonized with the true and authoritative statements contained in the gospels. Accordingly our venerable brother Heimo, who was the author of some remarkable works, writes in the prologue of one of his books concerning Bernhard, "Blessed be God Almighty, for by this man He hath granted to me to hear and to learn many things of which I was before ignorant, which related not only to chronology but to the mysteries and rules relating to the observance of Easter and to other questions that arose between us."

Udalricus, a holy priest of the Church of St. Egidius, on whom Bernhard the man of God had bestowed the favour of his friendship, when questioned by him respecting our order and our intercourse, replied that the former use of this monastery which was in accordance with the Amerbacensian rule, had been lax and irreligious, but that the spiritual and godly Hirsaugiensian order had been established here by the blessed bishop Otto, with the help of our

[1] November 11, 1122.

beloved father Wulfram, who was the tenth abbot of this place. He said also that from that time the object of the monastic life in this monastery had been so perfectly fulfilled that there was a good odour of Christ in every place.[1] On hearing this Bishop Bernhard stretched out both his hands to heaven, and with many tears rendered thanks to God, and ever afterwards he entertained the deepest affection for this place. Moreover at a meeting of the brothers, he laid aside his episcopal dress and put on the monastic habit; by his fatherly advice also he afforded such help to the Abbot Wulfram, of blessed memory, that he rendered great thanks to the priest Udalricus for having introduced to him so estimable a man. In addition to the good and pious advice that he offered he would frequently urge that, when a pastor had to be chosen in this place, we should by constant prayer and fasting ask God to reveal to us a fit person, and that we should realize that no one whose name had not been revealed to us by God would prove in all respects serviceable to us.

II. The holy Otto, who was aware of the widespread report concerning his sanctity and concerning the unique zeal with which he had preached to the pagans, received him with due respect and asked many questions concerning his journey and concerning the condition of the Pomeranian people. Bernhard, as he unfolded his story, perceived that the holy Otto was ready for every good work; and, making use of persuasive words, as though he were pouring oil upon a fire, he said—

"I was indeed mindful, honoured father, of the word spoken by the Lord when He sent out His disciples to preach, 'Take no bag, nor wallet, nor shoes,' and in attempting the task of preaching I became so poor that I would not even make use of shoes. But that race, which is so devoted to folly

[1] Cf. 2 Cor. ii. 14, 15.

and so completely ignorant of the truth, when it perceived my poverty and my despicable appearance, concluded that I had come thither not out of love for Christ, but simply on account of my own poverty, and, disdaining to hear from my mouth the words of salvation, drove me away. If, therefore, beloved father, you would make any impression upon the dull feelings of these barbarians, you must go to them accompanied by a distinguished band of fellow workers and servants, and with an abundant supply of food and of clothing.

"Those then who with unbridled neck spurned the yoke of humility will reverence the display of wealth and will submit themselves. You must be careful not to show desire for anything that they possess, and if they offer anything you must give back more than you receive, in order that they may understand that it is not to secure filthy lucre, but only from love of God, that you have undertaken the task of preaching to them. Be strong therefore and of a good heart, for you will lead a great multitude of people into the true land of promise. And be not discouraged by the hard and unaccustomed labour that awaits you, for the more difficult the fight the more glorious will be the crown."

The heart of Otto was inflamed by the advice offered by this blessed man, even as iron is heated by the fire, and he desired above everything that, as a messenger of Christ, he might undertake this journey.

Meanwhile his brother hermits had sought Bernhard in many different places, and when at length they found him with us they escorted him back to their own place with joy and admiration. It was on this occasion that the holy Otto came forward to undertake the evangelization of Pomerania. By the help of God we will now set forth in a suitable manner the method which he adopted and the fruit which he secured.

(After referring to the wars waged by force and

fraud against the Ruthenians and other neighbouring tribes by the Duke of Polonia, Herbordus goes on to to say—)

[H. V. He began to ravage and devastate Pomerania, and, inasmuch as its people were pagans, the Duke endeavoured to destroy them or, as an alternative, to force them to become Christians. But they, relying upon their own resources, as they had many cities and camps on their borders which had been strengthened by nature and art, regarded themselves as secure and having collected all their goods in their cities endeavoured to arrange garrisons for them. But inasmuch as it pleased God to destroy some of the cities in order that He might convert the inhabitants of the others to the true faith, He gave to Bolezlaus skill and resources wherewith to attack them, and on several occasions he massacred large numbers of the people.

The city of Stettin, which was the chief city of Pomerania, was surrounded on all sides by marshes and water, and was thought to be inaccessible to a hostile force, but the Duke led his army in the winter time over the ice not without risk, and overwhelmed the city with unimaginable slaughter. The city of Nacla also, which was strongly fortified, he destroyed and burnt, and devastated by fire and sword the whole of the surrounding district, so that in many places, even after a lapse of three years, the ruins and charred remains of corpses were still clearly visible. So completely were the inhabitants subdued by the destruction of these cities, that those whom the Duke allowed to survive slaughter and captivity were glad to be allowed to swear that they would become Christians, and be the tributaries of the Duke.

It is said that he slaughtered eighteen thousand armed men and that he led away as captives to his own country eight thousand men together with their

wives and little children, and placed them in positions exposed to danger as well as in cities and camps, that they might serve as a guard to his country and might help him to wage war with his foreign enemies. An additional condition was that they should abandon their idols and conform in all respects to the Christian religion.

When the Duke was concerned to convert to the Christian faith some members of their perfidious race whom he had allowed to continue as tributaries in their own land, he assembled all the bishops of his own country, but was unable to persuade anyone of them to go thither and to extend the light of life to those who were sitting in darkness and the shadow of death.[1] Each bishop put forward a different excuse, and so the preaching of the faith was delayed for three years.

VI. At length, having been admonished by God, he decided to invite to undertake this task Otto the bishop of Bamberg, whose fame had spread abroad throughout his kingdom, and whom in his early youth his own father had held dear. He thought that the time was opportune for him to renew his former friendship with so great a person and to impose upon this holy man the obligation involved in so sacred a work. He sent, therefore, ambassadors and gifts and wrote a letter to the following effect.

To the Venerable Bishop Otto, his lord and beloved father, Bolezlaus, the Duke of Polonia, proffers his filial respect and humble devotion. Forasmuch as I remember that in the days of thy youth thou didst live at my father's court in honour and credit, and forasmuch as the Lord is now with thee strengthening and blessing thee in all thy ways, if it be agreeable to thee I desire to renew our former friendship and to make use of thy counsel and assistance, so that by the help of His grace we may

[1] Ps. cvii. 10.

promote the glory of God. For thou knowest, I think, how the rude barbarians in Pomerania who have been brought low, not by my power but by the power of God, are now seeking to be admitted into the Church by the washing of baptism. For three years I have been striving without result, because I cannot induce any bishops or suitable priests near at hand to undertake the work. On this account and because thy readiness to undertake all good works is well known, I pray, beloved father, that it may please thee with our humble assistance to undertake this task for the glory of God and the increase of thy happiness. I, thy devoted servant, will provide all expenses and companions for the journey, both interpreters and assistant priests and whatever else is needed if you, holy father, will deign to come.

VII. On hearing this message the bishop was filled with great joy and gave thanks to Almighty God, as though the voice of God had spoken to him direct from heaven, because He had deigned to make use of his ministry for so important a matter.]

III. Inasmuch as Otto knew that everything in a house is controlled by the head of the house, he perceived that this difficult task ought not to be entered upon without the authority of the Bishop of Rome, and accordingly he sent messengers of distinction to the Apostolic Father Calixtus and obtained from him permission to evangelize the people of Pomerania.

[H. VII. As he had heard that Pomerania was a wealthy land and possessed no poor people or beggars, but greatly despised such, and that its inhabitants had already shown their contempt for certain poor and indigent preachers, believing that they had undertaken the task of preaching in order

to relieve their own wants, and not in order to save men, he took special care to appear before them, not merely as a well-to-do man, but as one possessed of riches and as one who desired to win for God not their wealth but themselves. Accordingly he secured suitable clergy and made abundant provision for their journey. For fear lest, as a faithful cultivator, he should appear to go forth into God's field without proper implements, by his foresight and liberality he arranged to have carried with him missals and other books, together with the priestly vestments required for the altar which, as he knew, could not suddenly be secured amongst a pagan people. Garments also and expensive cloths and other gifts suitable for nobles and rich men did this guileless and prudent evangelist take for his journey, so that he might not appear to preach in order to relieve his own poverty, but might seem to be giving to the new plantation rather than to be seeking anything from it.]

At this time he consecrated the church of the Holy Virgin, Walburga, in the Altenberg mountain.[1] It was here that he first declared to the holy priest Udalricus the intention that he had formed to go to visit the pagans. He said to him, "Although I have much urgent business both public and private in these parts, the love of Christ constrains me to attempt immediately the difficult task of going as a messenger to the Pomeranians, in order that I may spread the glory of His name. I will either draw these idolaters into the way of the true faith, or will myself submit to death on behalf of Him who, though innocent, deigned to die for us. My first task, therefore, is to secure companions and fellow-workers possessed of like fervour and constancy, who will tread underfoot all worldly prospects and will

[1] Near the town of Bamberg.

be ready to submit to death, should it come to them, for the sake of Christ.

"For the carrying out of this object I regard thee, my best beloved brother and fellow-priest, as specially fitted, and besides thee Werinher the priest from Erenbach, who is distinguished for his wisdom and piety. We have also as an interpreter Adalbert, who is acquainted with the language of the barbarians. Take then a respite of seven days in which to consider the matter and decide like a good athlete, and then tell me what the Holy Spirit shall inspire you to say."

Udalricus, accordingly, after considering within himself for a little while, being inflamed with the fire of divine love, said, "I consider, my father, that the truce of seven days has already ended: now therefore, receive, according to your desire, the decision which you would then have heard from me. For in the words of the chief of the apostles, 'I am ready to go with thee both to prison and to death.'"[1] When the holy Otto heard this, he gave thanks amidst his tears, and said, "Now will I attempt with joy this difficult task, for the grace of the Holy Spirit has touched your heart and has inspired you with so great fervour for this work. I make known to you that, inasmuch as my return will be uncertain, I have decided to complete and to consecrate with all speed the church of the Holy Faith, which I have lately built, and as soon as its consecration is completed, I desire to begin without delay this task of evangelization.

"Meanwhile accept money from me and procure clothing and whatever else you need. For, as the blessed Bernhard has suggested, we ought not to approach the Pomeranians in a condition of poverty, but as men who have an abundance of clothing and food, for fear lest, if they found that we were in

[1] St. Luke xxii. 33.

a condition of poverty, they should scoff at us, as though we had gone to them in order to relieve our wants, and that they should reject the word of salvation and cast us out of their territories, as they cast out before that servant of God. But provide for yourself a faithful and diligent servant whom you know to be fitted to undertake this work." Udalricus replied, "There is a young man named Sefrid who is a member of our staff of clergy,[1] and is intelligent, active and faithful, who would be able to write letters for us on our journey should occasion arise. This man, who, in my opinion, is fitted to have a share in this expedition, I offer, father, to your loving care." The holy Otto accepted the proposal with gratitude and said, "You have judged rightly. As a result of your suggestion this man shall henceforth hold a chief place amongst my servants."

When the church of the Holy Faith had been consecrated and money to defray the expenses of the journey had been collected and the time for starting drew near, a sudden fever attacked Udalricus, the servant of God. Moreover, Berchrada and Wendelmuot, the handmaidens of Christ, and others over whom by word and example as a priest he had held rule in Bamberg, had by their unceasing prayers and tears, detained him here. To their voices, beyond all doubt, were the ears of divine mercy open, for even at this time they faithfully obeyed his commands. The holy Otto, who was incredibly distressed by his sickness, waited on his account in the town of Bamberg for three days beyond the time that had been arranged, and he and his servants visited him daily and with fatherly solicitude sought for any signs of returning health. But as his pains did not cease, but rather increased day by day, for so God willed, the man of God with great sorrow left the

[1] Officio clericus probably denotes that Sefrid had received one of the minor clerical orders.

chosen companion of his journey sick, and set out with his companions. Sefridus, a youth of good disposition, Otto took as one of his companions and continued ever afterwards to cherish him with affection out of love to his foster-father Udalricus. When he reached the monastery of Michelfeld, which he had recently built, he solicited earnestly that prayers and alms should be offered on behalf of one who was a close friend. Once again he remained for three days in the same place, whilst he sent frequent messengers to Udalricus urging him, should he recover his health by the mercy of God, to come to him there with all diligence. He, however, remained seriously ill, and accordingly Otto commended him carefully to the blessed apostle St. John, who was the patron of this monastery, and continued the journey which he had begun. Many clergy and other members of the Church at Bamberg, who were devotedly attached to their holy father, had followed him to Michelfeld, as they desired to enjoy his company and to be helped by his teaching and discourse.

With much wholesome advice he urged upon them the duty of preserving concord and unanimity, and refreshed them with abundant consolation. "Inasmuch," said he, "as I desire to face the difficulties of this arduous journey in order that I may secure great gain in the far-off territories of the barbarians, I leave with you peace, and again, and yet again I urge and impress upon you the importance of peace. If you consider how great is the virtue of peace, you may understand with what diligence it should be cultivated. Our Lord and Saviour, when about to set out in order to suffer death, condescended to leave behind and give to His disciples a special and unique pledge in order that He might make those who were united to Him by faith, partners with Himself: for it is written, 'Blessed are the peacemakers, for they shall be called the sons of

God.'[1] Whoever then desires to become heir to his own father let him not refuse to act as a son by carefully preserving peace. For he who gives way to discord deprives himself of this great blessing. If then there is any striving after divine love, if any regard for the humility that I have displayed amongst you, follow after peace with all men at home and abroad, with those of your own household and with those outside, do those things that conduce to peace and love, cultivate earnestly hospitality and provide things that are good, not only in the sight of God but in the sight of men."[2] For three days he impressed upon them this and other similar teaching and at length bade them farewell as those whom he would not see again and, whilst his tears bore witness to his fatherly love, he commended them diligently to Christ and sent them back to their own place. When then he addressed himself to the journey which he had undertaken, what tongue can depict how great was the lamentation made by all his sons and how unparalleled were their lamentations?

Having been closely united to him by the bond of perfection which is love, they bewailed their one and only father as though their own hearts had been torn from their bodies, and as though they were carrying the corpse of their best beloved foster-parent to his burial. They led him thus with grief and piteous outcry beyond the district of Michelfeld: then he turned to them and with pastoral authority and priestly dignity he strove as far as he could to console them. He set out then with his noble companions and on the following day was asked by the illustrious Gebhard of Waldeck[3] to consecrate his church.[4] He consecrated it with deep devotion and

[1] St. Matt. v. 9.
[2] Romans xii. 7.
[3] Waldeck lay to the south-east of Bayreuth.
[4] The name of the place according to Herbord was Leuchtenberg. Vit. O. II. 8.

with fitting pageant, and going on from thence he consecrated another church at Vohenstrauss during the episcopate of Hartwic, the venerable bishop of Ratisbon, and by his permission and request.

Here a multitude of people, reckoned at 6,000 or even more, met him, and entreated him to confer upon them the grace of Confirmation; and when the beloved hand had been placed upon them, they soon began to render great thanks to the Lord and to implore the mercy of God and to ask that long life and a prosperous issue to his journey might be granted to their noble father. For he was in great favour both with the Lord and with men, so that all men hastened with eager desire to behold his hoary and much revered head and his face which resembled that of an angel. They rejoiced also to kiss not only his revered hands, which had been sanctified by abundant almsgiving, but even his very footsteps. After this he came to the monastery of Kladrau,[1] where he and his companions were honourably received.

[H. VIII. Here too he gave the veil to certain sisters, one of whom named Richa, who was weeping bitterly, he comforted by saying, "Do not weep, my daughter, be without fear, for in the Day of Judgment I will vouch for thy soul to thy Bridegroom, our Lord Jesus Christ." In confirmation of this promise, after the lapse of many years, she died on the anniversary of the burial of St. Otto.]

Now Ladislaus, the Duke of Bohemia, had sent messengers of rank thither to meet the holy father, who were instructed to show him due reverence and devotion and to furnish him with an escort, until he came to the Duke at the town of Prague. At this

[1] Cœnobium Cladrunnense, *i. e.* Kladrau: another M.S. reads Cladcrenense.

place the Duke, and Meginhard of pious memory, the bishop of the town, together with all the clergy and people, received him courteously, and bestowed many gifts upon him which he handed over for the use of the poor. This bishop Meginhard, the chosen of God, had already enjoyed the privilege of intimate intercourse with Otto, and for love of him he cherished with great affection the place[1] which he knew to be especially beloved by him, and loaded it with gifts and, as it now appears, arranged to perpetuate here the memory of his own anniversary.

Going on thence the holy Otto made for the Abbey of Seizkea[2] and then turned aside to Albea. In these districts the Duke Ladislaus had arranged fixed resting-places for him as far as the territory of the Polonii. There also the messengers of the venerable Polizlaus,[3] the Duke of the Polonii, met the apostle of our time and furnished him with an abundance of supplies and provisions till he reached the capital town Gnezna. He came then to the diocese of Bretlaen,[4] where he was received with due respect, and remained there for two days. On the third day he drew near to the diocese of Pozen. Turning aside from here he scattered seeds of faith and piety throughout the neighbouring districts, and within a fortnight he arrived at Gnezna the chief city of Polonia.

[H. VIII. For all the Churches in this district there was one form of salutation on the occasion of receiving a bishop. Those who shared in the joyous procession that was formed in his honour, in each several place, alluding to his missionary undertaking, exclaimed, "The citizens of the Apostles and those who are of the household of God have come to us

[1] *i. e.* the monastery of St. Michael at Bamberg.
[2] *i. e.* Sadska, which lies to the east of Prague.
[3] *i. e.* Boleslav III. [4] *i. e.* Breslau.

this day;" and the rest of the words which form part of the response they sang with eager devotion.]

IV. The Duke Boleslav, when he knew that the man of God had come, began to weep for joy, and proceeded with bare feet, together with all the clergy and people, to meet the beloved father. So great was the devotion with which he received him that he commanded that his own little children should be brought to meet him and should kiss his feet, and he besought with tears that he might receive the benefit of his blessing by the laying on of his hands. For the Duke was greatly respected in the Church of Christ: he was a lover of the poor and a consoler of those who were in need, and was beloved by all for his humility and charity, for he was wont to devote his attention to the congregations of the faithful and the dwellings of the saints rather than to the task of building cities. For three weeks he kept the beloved father Otto in the diocese of Gnezna, in the house of James, the chief ruler of the Church who afterwards became bishop, in order that he might enjoy his teaching and provide all things that might be needed for his journey. When Otto departed from the Church that was at Gnezna he had something stolen from him in the next hamlet, but as the result of an order issued by the Duke Boleslav he quickly recovered what was lost. At this place his companions Herold and Godebold returned home after receiving his blessing. After this, he had, by the help of God, a prosperous journey as far as the borders of Polonia.

[H. IX. The Duke himself and all the chief men in Polonia, advancing with bare feet about two hundred yards from the town of Gnezna, received him with great reverence and conducted him to the principal church. The Duke was delighted to entertain such a guest and to have the pleasure of his presence for

seven days; and with great politeness and goodwill he hastened with intelligent care to prepare all things that were needed for his journey, and he gave to the bishop men of his own race who were acquainted with the Polonian and Teutonic languages in order to supply his various needs, lest he should suffer any inconvenience amongst a foreign race through ignorance of their language. What more shall I say? He collected a long line of chariots and four-horse carriages to carry the provisions and all the sacred vessels of the bishop and the money also which was provided by his country with great liberality, as he contemplated that the bishop would not need to labour or to spend his own money, but desired to secure by his own expenditure the whole merit arising from his journey. The Duke also gave the bishop three chaplains, who were with him, to assist in preaching the word, and a certain centurion named Paulicius, a strenuous and orthodox man, who was fitted by his natural gift of eloquence to act as a popular speaker.

X. The bishop and his companions were thus sent on their way by the Duke of Polonia. After passing the camp that lay on the borders of Polonia they entered the large and awe-inspiring wood that divides Pomerania from Polonia. Even there, though the route seemed impassable, they were able to find a path, though it became difficult to continue on any one track. For this wood had never been traversed by human beings, except by the Duke who, before he had subjugated the whole of Pomerania, had traversed it for the sake of securing plunder, having cut a way for himself and his army by marking and felling trees. Though they paid attention to these marks they experienced great difficulties owing to the many different kinds of serpents and wild beasts, and storks which had nests in the branches of the trees and which disturbed them by their chattering and the

fluttering of their wings. At the same time the marshy ground hindered the advance of their four-horse carriages and chariots, so that they had difficulty in completing the crossing of the wood within six days and in establishing themselves on the bank of the river which forms the boundary of Pomerania.]

When he and his companions came to a town called Uzda[1] which is on the border line, his guide Paul sent forward messengers to Wortizlaus[2] the Duke of Pomerania, to inform him that Otto the servant of God, whose fame was spread abroad, was coming to his territory in order to preach the gospel. On account of the respect that was due to his own sanctity and to the authority of the apostolic lord Calixtus, whose messenger he was, he should be received with all fealty and his advice and commands should be in all respects obeyed. On receiving this order the Duke Wortizlaus met him in a town called Zitarigroda and received him with honour as a messenger of God. Otto offered to him the peace of Christ and, in accordance with his custom, presented gifts, namely a bishop's seat covered with (an episcopal) mantle and a costly dorsal together with other gifts, in order that by endowing him with temporal goods he might the more easily incite him to the love of heavenly things. The barbarians, however, at the suggestion of the great Enemy and his servants, their priests, made a cruel and violent attack upon the servants of Christ and began to threaten them with death. Seeing this, the Duke, who was greatly distressed, came up with his followers and, making a vigorous effort to defend them, when they were terrified and almost in despair, brought them no small comfort. He appointed, moreover, messengers to go to Otto, who in the course of seven days led him through the great desert which

[1] *i.e.* Uscz on the River Netzē, to the south of Posnania.
[2] The name is also written Vratizlaus and Bratizlaus.

was close at hand, where he and his companions incurred great danger from wild animals, but by the help of God they passed through uninjured. They afterwards came to a certain pool where some Pomeranians, whose hearts God had touched, met him and sought from him the grace of faith and of washing unto salvation. He wept for joy as he added to the fold of Christ these firstfruits of a new flock. On the following day he reached the next hamlet where, by the help of the Lord, he admitted still more to the sacrament of the second birth.

[H. XI. The Pomeranian Duke hearing of their approach met them with 500 men and, having pitched his camp at a different place on the river, he forthwith crossed the river and with a few companions saluted the bishop and received his salute. And inasmuch as he was a Christian, though secretly owing to his fear of the pagans, he spoke from his heart rather than with his mouth as he hung for a long while in the embrace of the bishop, and extolled the kindness of God revealed in connection with his journey. While the bishop and the Duke and the interpreter Paulicius conversed together for a long time, the rest of the barbarians who had come with the Duke, seeing that the clergy were not a little alarmed, distressed them still more by pretending to threaten them. They, fearing that death was close at hand, devoted what they imagined to be their last moments to the Lord, by confession and prayer and the singing of psalms. For this was the first place in which they had seen pagans, and all of them did not yet know the disposition of their Duke. Moreover the horror produced by solitude, the novelty of the situation, the utter darkness of the wood from which they had just emerged, the dusk of the approaching night and the cruel aspect of the barbarians all added to their fear. For the barbarians

brought out sharp knives and threatened to flay them alive, or to transfix them, and to bury them in the earth up to their necks, and to prick or cut their heads with these knives: and growling at them with distended mouths, in order to terrify them, they told them that many other varieties of torment awaited them.

However they soon revived when the Duke himself consoled and comforted them, and instead of being agitated by idle fears the situation began to be reversed. For when they found that the Duke and the soldiers who had been frightening them were Christians, they gradually gained courage and confidence and ventured to teach and exhort those on whom before, owing to their terror, they had not been able to gaze.

When the barbarians had become more gentle and better disposed towards the Christian religion, their mouth was filled with joy and their tongue with exultation, and they said among the nations whose hearts God had touched, the Lord hath done great things with us whereof we rejoice.[1] This they said because, by the coming of the bishop to them, the Lord had ended their captivity even as the ice is melted by the midday sun.

XII. The bishop therefore, who was ever eager to do good, and who augured the success of his own coming, presented gifts to the Duke, which included a walking stick, of which he immediately made use and leaning on it walked to and fro, congratulating and conversing with the soldiers. "What kind of father," he said, "has God given to us, and what kind of gifts has the father given, gifts which are more acceptable now than at any other time!" He then went to his camp, and in the morning he left with the bishop those who had come with him as guides and servants, and gave orders that in every district that belonged to him

[1] Cf. Ps. cxxvi. 3.

throughout the whole of Pomerania, liberal hospitality should be provided for the bishop. The Christians and the bishop crossed the river and entered Pomerania in the name of the Lord, and with guides to point the path they made their way to the camp of Pyrissa. Meanwhile the Duke left them to attend to his own business.

XIII. On this journey we found some small hamlets that had been destroyed in war and a few inhabitants who had recently gathered together after being dispersed, and who, when spoken to regarding the Christian faith, and asked whether they were willing to believe, threw themselves humbly at the bishop's feet and requested to be instructed and to be baptized. The bishop, as a faithful reaper, gathered these first-fruits of the divine harvest into his Lord's threshing-floor, and having given thanks to Him he baptized these thirty men, and after silently reflecting that this was the number of the Ten Commandments multiplied by the Persons of the Holy Trinity, he rejoiced that the work of evangelization had been mystically begun by him.]

V. On the third day he came to Piriscus,[1] the first town in Pomerania, the citizens of which he exhorted to embrace the faith, and there he remained for fourteen days: but they refused their assent and forced the servant of God to go elsewhere, declaring that they could not adopt this new law without consulting their leaders and elders. At length, however, as Otto waited upon them and offered unceasing prayers for their salvation, they were touched by the Spirit of God who bloweth where He listeth[2] and has compassion on whom He will have compassion,[3] and gave their consent, and, submitting themselves to the faith, were baptized, even as many as were predestined to eternal life.

[1] *i.e.* Pyritz. [2] St. John iii. 8. [3] Rom. ix. 18.

[H. XIV. As they at length drew near to the Duke's camp called Pyrissa at the eleventh hour of the day, they saw from a distance that 4,000 men had come together there from every province: for that day was a festival of the pagans, and its celebration by this wild people with sport, debauchery and loud outcry astonished them. They did not think it therefore advantageous or wise as unexpected guests to approach that night a crowd of people excited by drink and sport, but remaining where they were passed a sleepless night, as they did not dare to have a fire in their camp, nor did they venture even to speak one to another. In the morning the bishop sent to the camp Paulicius and the messengers of the Duke Boleslav. These saluted the chief men in the name of the Dukes and announced that the bishop had been sent by the Dukes to declare to them the Christian faith and religion. With their authority they commanded and endeavoured to persuade the people to listen reverently and respectfully, and they further stated that the bishop was a man of rank and wealth in his own country and possessed resources sufficient to supply his needs in a foreign land, and that he sought nothing and needed nothing, but had come in order to promote their salvation and not for the sake of gain. They bade them to remember their pledged word and to be mindful of the divine vengeance and of the recent destruction that had come upon the land, lest they should a second time arouse the divine wrath. They pointed out that the whole world lived under Christian laws and that they could not by themselves withstand the whole world. The people delayed long and made various excuses, and asked to be allowed time for consideration, saying that they ought not to undertake so important an affair suddenly or without consideration.

Paulicius and his fellow-messengers perceived that this was spoken designedly and they said, "It is no

time for lengthy consideration, what you are about to do, do quickly. Behold he is at hand. Last night the bishop would have come amongst you had he not heard that you were engaged in games and sport. On this account he delayed to come and pitched his tents on the plain, but it will be to your advantage not to distress him by a further contemptuous delay, lest the Dukes should consider that they themselves have thereby received an injury." "Is he," they said "so near?" to which the messengers replied, "It is so." "Everything," they said, "tends to hasten the end of our conference. Let us do then willingly and quickly what we are about to do, as our present circumstances demand, for the most high God appears to be surrounding and drawing us towards Him by His own power. We cannot refuse, let us therefore follow Him who would draw us towards life, lest by resisting His goodness we sink into death. Our gods, it appears, are not gods; against Him we can avail nothing. It is therefore better that we should leave behind those who will not follow us and that with entire loyalty we should draw near to the true God who has never failed those who have hoped in Him." After they had carefully re-examined and approved this proposal, which was at once so good and advantageous, they first of all held a secret gathering among themselves, and when, by unrestricted discussion with the messengers and Paulicius, they had gained further confidence, they went forth with them to the people, who had not dispersed according to custom or gone into the country, but, in accordance with God's will, remained where they were, and who now assembled as for a festival. These they addressed with honeyed words and with alluring kindness. Why say more? It is marvellous to relate how quickly and readily that concourse of people, after hearing what was said, arrived at the same decision. And because

they heard that the bishop was close at hand they made a great outcry and with one accord asked to have him called, so that they might all see and hear him before the assembly broke up, and they departed to their several homes. Accordingly when Paulicius and the messengers returned, some of the people went with them to the bishop to invite him, with the utmost respect, to visit them and to salute him on behalf of the nobles and the whole people and to assure him that he could appear without risk or fear of harm befalling him, but that they would eagerly listen to what he would say. The bishop, after giving thanks to God for the happy issue of events, betook himself to the camp, but when the inhabitants caught sight from a distance of the four-horse carriages, and the pack-horses which carried their provisions, and the beasts of burden and their attendants, they suspected that preparation was being made to attack them, and were accordingly somewhat alarmed. When, however, the true state of things was understood the whole people poured forth like a torrent to meet them, encompassing and surrounding them, and, gazing on them with admiration, they conducted them with all their belongings to the place reserved for visitors, which was a large space at the entrance to the camp. This they took possession of and here they fixed their tents while the barbarians kindly and gently assisted and made themselves in every way useful.

XV. Meanwhile the bishop put on his episcopal dress and, by the advice of Paulicius and the chief men, he addressed the people who desired to hear him from a lofty place, speaking through the mouth of an interpreter. He said, "The blessing of the Lord be upon you. Blessed be ye of the Lord. We bless and thank you in the name of the Lord because ye have refreshed our hearts by your grateful, kind and loving reception. Ye have perchance already heard

what is the object of our coming to you, but, if ye will deign to do so, it is fitting that ye should hear it again and pay diligent heed. We have come a long way: it is for your salvation, your benefit, and your happiness that we have made so great a journey. For ye will be happy, safe and blessed for evermore if ye will acknowledge your Creator and will serve Him." With these and other similar words, which for the sake of brevity I omit, the bishop preached to this ignorant people, with the result that the whole multitude of them, as though they had been one person, accepted the holy faith and placed themselves under his instruction. The bishop with his attendants and priests spent seven days in instructing them and in teaching them carefully all the things that appertain to the Christian religion. A three days' fast was appointed and the bishop ordered that they should wash in baths and should put on clean white garments and come together to holy Baptism in chaste attire.

XVI. Meanwhile three places for baptism were built in accordance with his orders, so that he might baptize the boys in one place whilst the priests baptized the women and men in separate places. The good father taught that baptism should be administered in such a way that nothing unbecoming or improper, or which might displease anyone, should be done. Accordingly he ordered that large vessels should be sunk in the ground so that the tops of the vessels should reach up to the men's knees or should project even less, and into which the descent would be easy. These were filled with water and circles were made round them. He also arranged that curtains should be spread out with posts and ropes to form as it were a screen all round the font in front of the priest and his assistants, who stood on one side with a curtain between whilst administering the sacrament. He did this in order to provide

against any infringement of modesty and to guard the administration of the sacrament from being marked by any folly or disgrace, and to prevent the more respectable people from withdrawing from baptism on the ground of modesty. And when all the people had come to the place of baptism the bishop, having first addressed them all together with suitable words, divided the sexes to right and left and anointed with oil those who had been instructed. He then commanded that a descent should be made to the places prepared for baptism. As the people came one by one to the entrance of the surrounding enclosure they entered accompanied only by their godparents; and the godparents then received the robe in which he who was to be baptized was wrapped, and the wax taper, and while he went down into the place of baptism, they waited holding the robe in front of his face till they gave it to the one who came out of the water. The priest standing at the font heard rather than saw that someone was in the water, and, removing the curtain a very little, he immersed the head of the person to be baptized three times and completed the administration of the holy sacrament by anointing the head with oil and by putting on the white robe. Then, drawing back the curtain, he bade the one who had been baptized to come up from the water, while the godparents covered him with the garment which they were holding and led him away. This was the order and arrangement for baptizing men and women, and boys and young men who could not be lifted into the water by the priests, in Pyrissa and in other towns and camps wherever the large number of persons to be baptized forced them to stay for some time. In winter time when the bishop administered the sacred sacrament of baptism, he showed the same care and regard for the pre-

servation of modesty and, having had the vessels sunk in the ground, he used hot water and sprinkled everything with incense and with other perfumes. For on every occasion, as the pagans noted with admiration, he possessed, as a gift from the Divine Spirit, an elegant charm and a winning demeanour which prevented him from doing anything unbecoming, or foolish, in eating, drinking, or speaking, or in his general behaviour, so that in every external act which he performed he displayed his real nature, being conspicuous alike for his goodness, his culture and his prudence.

XVII. They remained in the same place for about twenty days preaching to the people and baptizing them in the name of the Lord, teaching them to preserve the unity of the faith in the bond of peace, instructing them concerning the festivals and observances of the Christian religion, concerning the fasts at the four seasons, and the Lenten fast, and concerning the incarnation, birth, circumcision, manifestation, presentation, baptism, transfiguration, suffering, resurrection and ascension of our Lord Jesus Christ; concerning the coming of the Holy Spirit, concerning the vigils and birthdays of the Apostles and other martyrs and saints, concerning the Lord's Day, and Friday, concerning the division of the months and the arrangement of the whole year, as recognized by Christians.

As the whole of the church could not suddenly be erected he built a sanctuary and consecrated an altar and gave orders that masses should be celebrated there meanwhile. He gave the people a priest, sacred books, a chalice, and all things that were needed for the sacrament of the altar. All these the people received with great joy, eagerness, devotion and thanksgiving, and having cast away all their old and profane superstitions and heathen observances, and having put off the old man with his deeds they began

to walk in newness of life and to make good progress. The number of those who were there converted to the faith was about 7,000.[1]

The bishop, perceiving that the harvest was great, and recognizing that he ought to preach the kingdom of God to other cities, when he was about to continue his journey summoned an assembly and addressed the members of the Christian Church thus:

XVIII. "My brothers, I am zealous on your behalf with a divine zeal, for all of you who have come hither to hear me, and as a result of my teaching have believed in Christ and have been made Christians, and being one Church in the Lord, have been betrothed by faith to my Lord Jesus Christ; ye are, I say, all of you one Church, which is the one and only spouse of my Lord Jesus Christ, because by faith ye have become incorporated into the one universal Church. But inasmuch as by His grace I appear to have brought about this true espousal (for I have betrothed you as a pure virgin to her husband), the zeal that I feel in regard to you is none other than divine zeal. For according to the apostle there is such a thing as an evil zeal.[2] 'There are some,' he says, 'who zealously seek you in no good way.'

"To be zealous may mean to be displeased, though the word is sometimes used for imitate, as in the passage 'covet earnestly the best gifts.'[3] I am ready to be displeased with you, for, as I said before, I am zealous on your behalf. For I could not bear, nor shall I ever be able to bear, without sorrow and indignation, that anything wrong should occur which would bring loss to my Lord Jesus Christ, to whom by faith I have espoused you, if you were to defile yourselves again by worshipping other gods, for idolatry is like fornication and separates us altogether from God. Listen my brothers. Behold, ye have all

[1] *Vita Prüf.* (II. 4) reads "about 500" (500 fere utriusque sexus).
[2] Gal. iv. 17.
[3] 1 Cor. xii. 31.

been baptized in (the name of) Christ and have all put on Christ:[1] from Him ye have received the forgiveness of all your original and actual sins; ye are clean and holy, having been cleansed and sanctified, not through any deed of ours, but by Him, for He Himself by His own blood has washed away the sins of the world.[2] Beware then of defiling yourselves again by the worship of idols, for this is uncleanness, by which God is greatly displeased and which separates men from the grace of God. Beware lest you prostitute yourselves to evil and to unclean spirits, but render divine honours to your Creator alone and not to any creature, lest His indignation and anger befall you; but seek to advance in faith, hope and love, so that His blessing may come upon you and your children and that, believing in Him and adorning your faith by your works, ye may have life in His name, who has called you out of darkness into His marvellous light.[3] For ye ought to be well assured and in no wise doubt that if by His help ye endeavour to preserve to the end of your life the innocence and holiness in which ye have been placed to-day, ye will not only escape eternal death but will possess for ever the joy of the celestial kingdom.

"But because our present life cannot be lived without sin, for man's life upon earth is a life of struggle and temptation,[4] I commit to you, ere I leave you, the things that have been committed to us by the Lord, which are pledges of holy faith between you and God, that is the seven sacraments of the Church which represent the seven gifts of the Holy Spirit; by using which, amid the toils and struggles of this life, your Church may not fall back, but may advance and repair its own deficiencies. Take heed therefore that ye know how to tell over again the things which we hand on to you ere we depart. The first sacrament

[1] Gal. iii. 27.
[2] Rev. i. 5.
[3] 1 Pet. ii. 9.
[4] Job vii. 1.

into which ye have been initiated is Holy Baptism. This sacrament, my brothers, ye ought henceforth to preserve and venerate. Ye ought also by the hands of the priests to hand it on to your little children at suitable seasons, that is on Easter Day and Pentecost, knowing beyond all doubt that whoever passes out of this life without having received this sacrament shall have no part in the kingdom of God and shall pay the penalty for ever of his original sin.

"The second sacrament is Confirmation, that is the anointing of the forehead with the sacred oil. This sacrament is necessary for those who are entering upon life, for thus must they be fortified and armed by the aid of the Holy Spirit so as to resist all the temptations and evils of this present life. But the reception of this sacrament must not, as some think, be deferred till old age, but must be received whilst the ardour of youth remains, for this period of life is especially exposed to temptations. The third sacrament is the anointing of the sick, which is necessary for those who are at the point of death, because the forgiveness of sins is granted by this anointing through the power of the Holy Spirit, and he who is about to die is armed by the same power of the Holy Spirit so that he may fight against spiritual wickedness, that is against the evil spirits that lie in wait for souls on their departure from this life. This sacrament is very greatly to be desired by every Christian and is to be received by him with the utmost devotion at the moment of his death, inasmuch as it is the most effective medicine for the soul. The fourth Sacrament is the Eucharist, that is the body and blood of our Lord. This sacrament is necessary for those who are to live and for those who are to die. For whether we live or die we must make use of this which is a provision for our journey. For it is the true food of the soul and has within it eternal life. Wherefore masses ought frequently to be celebrated and ye ought

to come together for this purpose in order that ye may more frequently participate in this food for the journey, and if, because ye are carnal, ye are not able to participate yourselves in this most holy food at all masses, ye may still participate through your mediator, the priest, who participates on your behalf, by listening with faith and reverence when mass is said. Ye ought, however, to receive the sacrament three or four times a year, if ye cannot do so more frequently, and to make your confession. The fifth sacrament is the reconciliation by penitence of those who have lapsed, that is of those who after baptism have been cast out of the Church for grave sins. By reparation and penitence these are again made members of the Church. This sacrament is as it were a poultice and medicine for the recovery of those who fall and are wounded in the fight. The sixth sacrament is marriage, that is the joining together in wedlock. The five sacraments already mentioned are, so to speak, general and necessary for every Christian, but this is a sacrament for special individuals, as it is not necessary for all, but for those only who cannot restrain themselves. Whilst all men should be attracted and invited to the former sacraments, no one is to be attracted or invited to this except those who, as has been said, cannot restrain themselves, but defile themselves by unlawful intercourse. To these this sacrament must be recommended so that they may obtain an honourable remedy for their weakness. But ye who have hitherto been pagans and not Christians, have not the sacrament of marriage, because ye have not been faithful to one woman. But those of you who have desired it have had more than one wife, a thing which henceforth will be for you unlawful; but one man ought to have one woman, and one woman one man. What is more than this is of the evil one. If any of you have had more than one wife before your baptism let him now choose the wife which pleases him best and let him

send away the others and keep this one only, according to the Christian custom. I hear also that ye women are accustomed to kill your female infants. Words cannot express how great an abomination such conduct is. Consider whether the brute animals act thus towards their young. Let not this parricidal crime exist henceforth amongst you, for it cannot be forgiven without the most profound repentance. Nourish carefully your offspring whether male or female, for it is God's will to create both the male and the female. The seventh sacrament then is the ordination or consecration of clergy, and this sacrament is for special individuals and not general because it is not necessary for everyone. For although all men have need of clergy it is not necessary that all men should become clergy.

"Those then who are specially fitted by character and by knowledge should be invited rather than drawn by force to this sacrament. I exhort you, therefore, and invite you, for it is not right that I should use force, to hand over some of your children to perform the office of the priesthood after they have received a liberal education and have been carefully taught, so that, like other races, ye may have clergy and priests speaking your own tongue and conversant with Latin. These then are the seven sacraments which I will enumerate again for your benefit: baptism, confirmation, the anointing of the sick, the Eucharist, the reconciliation of the lapsed, matrimony, and Orders, which by us His humble bridesmen, the heavenly Bridegroom has deigned to transmit as a pledge of true love to you His Church and bride. Wherefore ye ought to observe with all care and reverence these sacraments and teach them to your children, so that they may remember and carefully observe them for all generations. Ye have now a Church and a priest who can fully instruct you concerning all these things, and

concerning all things that are necessary for you. Listen then to him, as ye have listened to me, honour him and love him, and do whatever he shall tell you. Farewell in the Lord my beloved."]

On the nativity of St. John the Baptist he arrived at a large town called Gamin[1] where the Duke lived. He remained here for a long time, that is for fourteen weeks, or more, and built churches with branches of trees, to supply the needs of the new spiritual plantation. Otto himself baptized the little children, whilst his fellow-workers baptized the men and the women who drew near to Christ in multitudes.[2] In the course of the instruction that was given at this place the women were asked whether they had killed their infants—for in accordance with the cruel pagan custom, they had been wont to kill their girls and to save their boys—and for this crime special penitence was enjoined. The men and women were washed separately in the sacred font, curtains being hung round the baptisteries, which were placed so far away from each other that no occasion for any kind of scandal could arise.

[II. XIX. After that the Church in Pyrissa had been strengthened and instructed, we bade farewell with many tears and with much affection to this simple people, and with the ambassadors as our guides, we arrived at the town of Camina. There was here a duchess, who was the legitimate wife of the Duke, who, though living amongst pagans, was not unmindful of the Christian religion. She rejoiced greatly at the news of our arrival and, together with her whole household, received us eagerly, as she did not doubt that this would be equally agreeable to her husband and would promote both her and his

[1] *i. e.* Kammin. *Vita Prüf.* reads Chamin, Herbordus reads Camina.
[2] *Vita Prüf.* (II. 4) gives the number as 3,585.

salvation. For during our stay at Pyrissa she had carefully learned by means of secret spies all that had taken place there, and she rejoiced with great exultation that this people had been enlightened. She herself too began to fan the spark of her own faith that had hitherto smouldered, as it were, beneath dead ashes, by declaring it first of all modestly to the members of her own family and then to her confidential friends. And as it is written, "Fire arises from a spark,"[1] so the ardent faith of this matron had, by the help of God, influenced the whole of the city to such an extent that we found not only no opposition but a joyful agreement on the part of all the people that they should receive baptism.

XX. We stayed therefore for nearly forty days in the same place, and the bishop and his fellow-workers, both priests and other clergy, devoted themselves almost entirely to the single task of receiving those who came to embrace the faith, and of guiding, instructing, preaching and baptizing. Amid so great a harvest the labourers seemed to be but few in number, for the peoples of the place and of the surrounding provinces came and went daily. We frequently saw the bishop who took the chief part in baptizing (though he himself only baptized boys), while he was endeavouring to supply the needs of all, perspiring to such an extent that his white robe dripped with sweat. Frequently also, when he was worn out by his excessive labour, he would sit down for a short time, and recover strength, and after breathing for a while, like a vigorous and active worker, he rose again to continue the work, which was so dear to him, giving thanks to Almighty God, because by His surpassing mercy he was gathering with sweat and toil so many sheaves into His granary.]

[1] Ecclus. xi. 32.

VI. There was not wanting a miracle to confirm the truth of Otto's preaching and this must here be related in due sequence. For there was in the same town of Gamin a certain woman of rank and wealth, who, being seduced by the persuasion of the Evil One, had despised the teaching of the most holy apostle and had put aside and refused to follow his instructions. To mention one of the instances in which she showed her contempt and disobedience; whilst all were engaged in keeping the Lord's Day, she herself went out into the fields to reap and, although the members of her family disapproved and objected, she remained unabashed, and went on with the work which she had begun. But the good Lord, who has deigned to promise to his preachers, "He that hears you, hears Me, and he that despises you, despises Me,"[1] became by means of a manifest miracle, which was worked for the correction of the rest, the avenger and the punisher of this contempt. For whilst she was intent upon her evil work and was upbraiding and threatening the members of her family for neglecting to help her, she suddenly fell back, and, expiring more quickly than can be described, struck with great horror those who were standing near. She was forthwith placed in a coffin by the members of her family, who lamented and bewailed her, and was carried all round the town, the funeral being conducted with loud outcries. Whilst this manifest judgment of God caused fear to all, they were more and more strengthened in the Christian belief and religion.

[H. XXI. While these things were being done at Camina and we and the people of the city, together with their most noble and Christian matron, were the possessors of spiritual joy, the arrival of the Duke of the country, Wortizlaus, with his attendants added

[1] St. Luke x, 16.

not a little to our pleasure. Without a moment's delay he rushed with filial confidence to embrace the bishop, and said, "Hail, holy father, be not angry because after my first brief greeting I have been so long without seeing you, for affairs of state which could not be avoided were the cause of my delay. But I am here now ready to obey and serve you in whatever way you desire, for we and all that we have are yours: use us as you will." When he had said this he turned to the clergy and the other important men in our retinue and said, "With your permission, father, I will salute also these your fellow-workers." He then took and held their hands in turn and blessed them and kissed them affectionately, calling them his most dear sons and daughters; and he blessed God, the giver of all good things, that he had been thought worthy to receive in his house such agreeable guests. And because after this we had to go by boat from one town to another, he commanded his servants to lead our horses and beasts of burden to suitable pastures; nor were they restored to us until everything had been accomplished and we were about to leave the country. When we received them back they were so changed in appearance that their owners could hardly recognize their own beasts, so fat had they become. The soldiers who had come with the Duke were forthwith instructed and baptized. Many, including the Duke himself, had been formerly Christians, but through association with unbelievers had abandoned their Christianity. By confession and penitence these were reunited to the Church, after promising that they would henceforth abjure all things inconsistent with the Christian name, and follow that which was conformable thereto.

XXII. Moreover the Duke said, "I know that to have more than one wife, or to have concubines, is inconsistent with Christian holiness;" and having

forthwith touched the relics of the saints, as is the custom when Christians take an oath, in the presence of the people and the bishop he publicly renounced the twenty-four concubines which, in accordance with heathen custom, he had taken in addition to his lawful wife. Many of the others who had presumptuously committed the same offence, when they saw what the Duke had done, renounced polygamy and promised that they would follow the Duke's example and cleave to one wife. The Church therefore in this place increased and was strengthened, walking in the fear of the Lord, and was filled with the Holy Spirit, whilst the bishop and the clergy zealously proclaimed the kingdom of God. A church was also built there and an altar and sanctuary consecrated, and certain farms and other property were given by the Duke for the support of a priest. The bishop acted generously in this country as he did in the case of all other churches, and contributed books, and priestly garments, and a silver chalice, together with other vessels. He placed also over the Church one of his own priests who was capable of teaching the people.

XXIII. When all these arrangements had been duly made, and the people were coming together to the church day by day not only from the town but also from the country, and were keeping the Lord's Day and other festivals, a certain widow who lived in the country not far from the city of Camina, who was rich and noble, had shown her contempt for the Christian religion and declared that she would worship the gods of her country and would not fall in with the new delusion and abandon the ancient tradition of her ancestors. She had a large family and was a lady of great influence, who ruled her house with vigour, and, a circumstance which was very significant in that country, she had been accustomed during the lifetime of her husband to have

thirty horses with riders for the use of her escort. The strength and power of nobles and great men is usually estimated in accordance with the supply or number of their horses. "He is strong, powerful and rich," people say, "for he has such or such a number of horses," and when they hear the number of the horses they understand the number of soldiers that are available, for in that district no soldier is accustomed to have more than one horse.

Moreover the horses of this country are large and strong and each individual soldier fights without a shield-bearer and carries his own pack and shield, performing his military tasks with great agility and energy. Only chiefs and important men have one or, at the most, two attendants. It came to pass on a certain Lord's Day in harvest time when the people from all parts were hastening to the church, that this matron neither came herself nor permitted her servants to come, but behaved in an unruly way; "Go," she said to her servants, "reap my fields, for this will bring you more advantage than devoting yourselves to a new and unknown god whom this Otto, the Bishop of Bamberg, brings from his own country. What have we to do with him? Do not you see how much good and how great wealth our gods have given us? It is by their bounty that we have an abundance of wealth and honour; to abandon, therefore, their worship will bring us no small harm. Go then and reap our crops. In order that ye may be less afraid my carriage has been made ready and I will go into the fields with you and take part in reaping the crops." And when she had gone out into the fields she said, "Do as you see me do." She then turned back her sleeves, fastened up her robe and seized a reaping-hook in her right hand. She held some stalks in her left hand and appeared to be cutting them. But, marvellous to relate, as she was in the

act of doing this and was leaning forward to reap, she became like a marble effigy and could neither lift herself up nor cast away the sickle or the stalks of corn from her hand, but stood there in silence like an image, saying nothing but gazing at those who kept gazing upon her.

But when her servants saw this they were greatly afraid, and they stood round her watching and waiting until she should recover. They begged her also to abandon her foolhardiness, telling her that the God of the Christians was mighty. She, however, made no response, and when they laid their hands upon her and tried to raise her up by force and to take away her sickle and stalks they were quite unable to do so. But she stood like an immovable mass fixed to the earth. And when this unhappy woman had caused astonishment and stupor to the spectators by the condition into which she had fallen, and her attendants were overcome with grief and distress and were proposing to leave her and depart, she suddenly collapsed and breathed forth her guilty soul into hell fire. As they lifted her into the carriage they said, "What kind of sheaf is this that we carry back from the field on the Lord's Day?" This occurrence was widely reported and spread abroad, for the attendants forthwith rushed to the church and asked for baptism, and, overcome with astonishment, related what had happened. The faith of those who believed was strengthened by the miracle, whilst the unbelievers and those who had before blasphemed learned to believe as a result of the punishment that had befallen the woman. They began, moreover, carefully to observe the Lord's Day and the other festivals, and to show greater reverence not only for the bishop and his companions, but for all that they taught.]

VII. Going on from thence the apostle of the

Pomeranians arrived at the great city of Julin, where the river Oder flows past the lake, which is very wide and long, and enters the sea. The citizens of this place were cruel and wicked, and on this account the holy preacher entered the city at great personal peril, for he and all his companions were faced with the prospect of certain death. According to the custom of their district, the chief of the land has a special seat and dwelling-place in each town, into which anyone may flee and obtain a refuge from his enemies. Thither, therefore, the holy Otto entered, and with prayers and tears he pleaded for the conversion of the Pomeranian race, but all in vain.

For the inhabitants of the town, intoxicated with the chalice of God's anger, when they heard of the arrival of the servants of God, at the dawn of the following day, armed themselves with clubs and stones and rushing upon them endeavoured to drive them from the town. They said that it was in vain that they had made their way into the resting-place provided by the Duke, expecting to find security there, inasmuch as those who were subverters of the country and of its ancient laws were declared by the ordinance of their gods to be outside the stipulation relating to the granting of peace. As a result of the intervention and the order of the Duke they with difficulty escaped with their lives, after receiving many injuries. They then spread their tents in front of the town and remained there for seven days, whilst the messengers of the two Dukes Bolczlaus and Wortizlaus kept inquiring day by day on their behalf whether the people of Julin had considered the question of making their submission to the Christian faith. They were, however, led astray by the evil counsel of their priests, and refused altogether to receive the herald of wholesome teaching, but drove him

ignominiously away from their territory and forced him to go to Stettin.[1]

[H. XXIV. When nearly fifty days had been spent in this place (Camina), ambassadors were provided by the Duke, and two citizens from the place to act as guides, viz. Domizlaus and his sons who were men of reputation; and we travelled by boat to Julin through lakes and lagoons made by the sea. This city is large and strongly built, but its inhabitants were cruel and barbarous, and when they had come near to the city our guides stopped and began to be frightened and to murmur amongst themselves. When the bishop perceived it he said, "What is it that ye are saying one to another?" They said, "Father, we are afraid for you and your companions, for this people is fierce and unrestrained. If it be your pleasure, let us bring the boat to land and wait on the shore till dusk, so that we may not raise a tumult against us by entering the city in daylight." In each of his cities the Duke had a stronghold and a court with rooms in it and the law provided that if anyone had fled to this he should be secure from any enemy who might follow, and should remain there safe and unharmed. They said, therefore, "If we enter the Duke's shelter by night relying upon its protection, by coming into touch gradually with the citizens and by making known to them our business little by little, we shall perchance accomplish more." The proposal was adopted and when the day ended we entered the walled court provided by the Duke without the knowledge of the people. When they saw us on the following day some evil-disposed persons asked who we were and whence and why we had come.

[1] The *Vita Prof.* (II. 8) says that the people of Julin hoped and anticipated that the inhabitants of Stettin would kill the bishop and so prevent his return to them.

There was at first a disturbance, which gradually became a tumult, as the people ran hither and thither looking at us again and again and telling the news concerning us to the others. At last the people, seized with a senseless rage, raised a great uproar and, armed with axes, swords and other weapons, burst into the Duke's court, without showing any regard for it, and threatened us with instant death unless we fled from the court and the city with the utmost speed. Now there was in the court a very strong building made with beams and large planks which the people called "stupa" or "pyrale," into which had been carried from the boat the boxes of books, the pack-saddles, the bishop's robes, the money and other valuables. Thither, in consequence of the furious attack made by the people, the bishop and his clergy had fled.

But the people shouted and cried out and endeavoured to compel them to come forth. When they delayed it seemed for a moment as though the people would abandon their fury, but their madness blazed forth all the more and, making a rush, they attacked the "stupa" and overthrew it, dragging down and demolishing first the roof and then the beams. Whilst some were terrified and others cried for fear, the bishop, who hoped that he was called to receive the crown of martyrdom, stood undaunted with joyous spirit and cheerful countenance, eagerly desiring that he might be counted worthy to receive a blow or a wound in the name of Jesus. Paulicius and the ambassadors, when they saw that all the people were seized with madness and that to delay there any longer would make matters worse, leapt forth into the midst of the crowd and, raising a great cry, as though they were themselves mad, they stretched out their hands and demanded that silence should be made.

When the people had become somewhat quieter, they went on to say, "What is this?" and directing

attention to themselves, they continued, "Allow us who are here in the Duke's court to depart in peace. Why are ye enraged against us? Which of you have we injured?" They replied, "We have come to kill the bishop who is a deceiver, and the other Christians who are with him and who speak evil of our gods. But if ye desire to save them, see, we grant a free passage, lead them quickly out of our city." Now the streets of the city were marshy and muddy and bridges had been built and planks had been laid down everywhere in consequence of the mud. Paulicius seized the bishop by the hand and began to lead him forth, urging him modestly to quicken if he could his pace. When, with troubled steps, we had all passed through the crowd and beyond the court and had come to the bridges, a lusty barbarian in the crowd brandished a huge pole which he was carrying and tried to inflict a mighty blow on the head of the bishop as he was passing by. He, however, turned his head aside and received the blow on his shoulder, and when his assailant repeated his attempt and another man threw a pike at him from a distance, Otto fell down on the mud between Paulicius and the priest Hiltanus who were leading him from the bridge. Paulicius, who showed himself to be a real man, both in mind and body, did not desert the prostrate bishop in consequence of the missiles that were falling upon him, but interposed his own body and received frequent blows, and, descending from the bridge into the mire which was up to his waist, he lifted the bishop out of the mud. Likewise the other priests and clergy protected him and stretched forth their hands to him as he lay prostrate, and in the name of Jesus they received many blows that were aimed at their bishop with clubs and poles. At length and after many hazards the bridge was reached and we began to retire beyond the city, while the people, having been calmed by the more prudent among them, departed from us.

We went then across the lake and broke down the bridge behind us, for fear lest the people should attack us again. Having rested in the plain in the spaces between the storehouses and having recovered our breath, we examined and counted our companions and gave thanks to God that no one was missing, rejoicing especially because we had been counted worthy to suffer shame for the name of Jesus. After we had recovered our breath and had ministered to his wants, the blessed Otto said, "Alas that we have been deprived of our hope. The palm was in our hands. You—may God forgive you, my sons and brothers—have snatched it from our grasp. All those blows were hardly sufficient for one martyrdom, but whilst all of you sprang forward to gain the crown (of martyrdom), ye have not allowed one to attain it." To him Paulicius answered, "Let it suffice, master, that to us you appeared to receive it." "It does not suffice," said he, "because I received less than I desired. It was your courage that, to a large extent, snatched away my blessing." This referred to the blows which Paulicius intercepted. Nevertheless the bishop had clearly received three blows.

XXV. We remained there on the other side of the marsh which surrounded the town for fifteen days, waiting to see if the people would come to a better state of mind. Meanwhile our companions went to and fro between us and them, and their head men came to us and excused themselves by laying the blame for the tumult upon the stupid and worthless section of the people. The bishop then conversed with them concerning the Christian faith and endeavoured indirectly to exhort and persuade them. He made mention also of the name and power of the Duke of Polonia and suggested that the insult offered to us would tend to his injury and that some evil might befall them in consequence, unless perchance their conversion should intervene. They said that

they would take advice, and having gone back to their own people, they discussed these matters over and over again and at length arrived at a unanimous decision, namely that in regard to this proposal they would do whatever the inhabitants of Stettin did, for they said that this city was the oldest and most renowned in Pomerania and was the mother of cities and that it would not be right for them to permit the observance of a new religion unless this observance had first been confirmed by its authority.]

VIII. In this place (Stettin) it happened that God's servant met with a great and undeserved injury, which procured for him the glory of an eternal recompense in the presence of God. For a certain fellow, who was a son of perdition, had gone to a wood to cut logs. As he was returning with his waggon loaded with logs he met the man of God in a place where the mud was specially deep, and in an excess of foolish anger, prompted by Satan, by whom he was possessed, he seized a big log and endeavoured to break the head of God's servant and to dash out his brains. The Lord, however, preserved the holy Otto in order that he might be a help to many, and the wicked murderer did not succeed in touching his head, but he struck him a great blow between the shoulders so that he fell flat in the mud and the hoary head which ought to have been held in honour, and his whole body, were defiled by the evil-smelling mud. His fellow-worker also, the faithful Hiltanus, who desired to assist him, received a blow on the arm in his defence of truth. But Christ's servant rose from the mud and gave thanks for the insult that he had received, and said, "Glory be to thee, O Lord, that I have been counted worthy to receive at least one blow on account of my love to Thee." But the Lord did not desert his servant who laboured on behalf of His name amid so great danger and difficulty, but deigned to send as his

defender an opportune helper, a nobleman named Nedamirus, who was greatly esteemed by his fellow-countrymen for his wealth and power, had been already baptized in Saxony and was a Christian in secret. He defended Otto and treated him with all kindness, and showed his devotion to him when he was leaving by providing three large boats laden with an abundant supply of food, and by furnishing an escort to conduct him with all care as far as the Duke's citadel in the town of Stettin. He himself afterwards returned secretly by night to his own people in Julin. The Apostle of the Pomeranians continued in a safe place in Stettin for seven weeks, and in season and out of season he laboured long and diligently, toiling for God and preaching the word.[1] At length, assisted by God's mercy, he secured the conversion of this wild race; and this was the way in which it came about.

IX. There was a man called Domizlaus who was greatly renowned in Stettin for strength of mind and body, and was so greatly honoured and revered by all that not even Wortizlaus, the Duke of Pomerania, presumed to do anything without his advice and approval, but all public and private business was conducted as he pleased. For the greater part of the city of Stettin—which is the most important of all the cities of Pomerania and includes within its circuit three hills—was filled with the connections and relations of Domizlaus, and in the districts that lay round about he had so many connections that it was not easy for anyone to resist his will. The holy Otto, who was ever a man of great sagacity, and who knew that if this man and his connections were to submit to the Christian faith, all the people would be drawn to follow his example, strove with all his might to tie

[1] The *Vita Prüf.* (II. 8) states that the bishop preached every Sabbath sacerdotalibus vestimentis indutus . . . ut effera corda gentilium niveo demulceret aspectu.

this rhinoceros by the leash of his preaching so that he might be made to plow in the Lord's field.

But inasmuch as he was a hard man and could not easily be brought under restraint, Otto first admitted the sons, in the absence of their father, to the sacraments of the faith, and with the sons he added also the mother to the fold of Christ. Domizlaus, when he heard, was at first extremely indignant, because this had been done without his approval or consent, and assailed Otto with threats and abuse and endeavoured to expel him ignominiously from those parts. The apostle of the Pomeranians, however, bent his knees to God and prayed with tears that, where iniquity abounded, grace might still more abound.[1] Whereupon Domizlaus was struck at once with the fear and love of God, as though a voice had said to him from heaven, "Domizlaus, why persecutest thou Me?[2] I ought before now to have destroyed thee, but My servant Otto prayed for thee." Suddenly the wolf became a lamb, that is, Saul was changed into Paul, and, suffused with tears, he knelt and prostrated himself before Otto and begged his forgiveness and that he might be allowed opportunity to repent. He was kindly received by Otto, who, after comforting him with his paternal blessing, learned from his secret confession that he had formerly received the grace of baptism in Saxony; but the craft of the Evil One had brought it about that when great wealth came to him in a pagan land, he had not been able to maintain his Christian faith amongst idolaters. When then he had completely abjured the errors of paganism, he became the most strenuous defender of the faith which he had before attacked, and, having mended his ways, the help that he gave to the faith was greater than the harm which he had done to it when he went wrong. His whole household, consisting of more than fifty souls, was forthwith

[1] Rom. v. 20. [2] Acts ix. 4.

sprinkled with the water of regeneration: his neighbours also and friends with the members of his household, moved by his example, received the faith. And so it came to pass that the number of the faithful increased from day to day, and the whole town and adjacent province abandoned the darkness of idolatry and were enlightened by the glory of the faith. The holy preacher of the gospel remained there during the winter that was then approaching, and conferred the grace of baptism upon the people who flocked together to him. He built churches also in convenient places, and committed the charge of them to suitable ministers and priests, and arranged to provide all necessary furniture and adornments.

[H. XXVI. When he heard this,[1] the bishop, without further delay, hastened to approach Stettin, and took with him a citizen of Julin named Nedamirus to show us the way. He made good use of his association with the bishop and, like another Nicodemus, he and his son visited us often in secret and listened eagerly to the things that were spoken. Several others too from the same city worshipped Christ in secret, both men and women. They also visited us frequently whilst we were stopping there, and at their own expense they showed us kindness, whilst they in turn were refreshed with spiritual consolation by the bishop. Their hope was that when Stettin had received the word of God Julin also, in accordance with the compact, might agree to receive it. Some of them disclosed to the Christians (amongst us) what they thought concerning Christ and afterwards returned secretly to their own place.

We drew near to the city in the twilight and leaving our boats entered the court provided by the Duke. In the morning Paulicius and the headmen,

[1] *i.e.* the decision of the inhabitants of Julin to be guided by the action of the people of Stettin. Cf. H. II. 25.

who acted as ambassadors, declared that they had been sent by the Dukes with the bishop and explained that the object of their journey was to preach the gospel. At the same time they advised, promised and threatened. The people answered, "What have we to do with you? We will not abandon the laws of our fathers, and are content with the religion that we possess. Amongst the Christians there are thieves and robbers, and those who (for their crimes) have been deprived of feet and eyes; all sorts of crimes and penalties are found amongst them and one Christian curses another Christian. Let such a religion be far from us!"

They made other protests of a similar nature and closed their ears against what we had to say. As all continued obstinate we effected nothing, although we remained there two months, and even more. As this long and useless delay was a cause of distress to us, a proposal was made that we should send messengers to the Duke of Polonia to inquire what orders he would give us, whether we were to remain there or to return, and what he thought of the opposition offered by the inhabitants of the town. When this proposal became known to the citizens they were afraid, but asked nevertheless that messengers be sent, and said that their own messengers would co-operate with them on the understanding that if they should obtain from the Duke a lasting peace and a reduction of the tribute, and if this should be confirmed in writing in the presence of their own and the bishop's messengers, they would then of their own free will regard with favour the Christian laws. During the absence of the messengers who went with Paulicius, twice a week, that is on the market days, when the people from every province came together, we dressed in our priestly robes and carried a cross through the market-place and urged upon the unbelieving people, in season and out of season, that they should believe and

acknowledge God. By doing this we risked having our throats cut day by day, but by the help of God we continued unharmed. The people who came from the country, and whose minds were unbiassed, were affected by the novelty of the situation and, having postponed their own business, received our message with eagerness, though none ventured to become believers. And as the cross was carried and addresses were delivered on certain fixed days, the people of the country flocked together to listen instead of attending to the business of the market-place.

XXVII. As we let down the nets of faith day after day and took nothing, though we toiled hard, the good God had regard to the diligence of His servant Otto and had compassion on our labour and sorrow.

For two youths of beautiful appearance, the sons of a man of noble rank in the town, came frequently to the house where the Christians were and, becoming intimate with them, began little by little to ask questions concerning our God and the Christian faith. The bishop perceived that they came for a good purpose and strove to secure future benefits through them. He accordingly delighted them with his agreeable conversation and preached to them day by day concerning the purity and beauty of Christianity and concerning the immortality of the soul, the resurrection of the body, and the hope and glory of eternal life. Aided by the Holy Spirit the youths opened their hearts to receive this teaching and, after a brief delay, believed and asked to receive baptism. The bishop then with great joy instructed the youths concerning all things that appertain to the Christian religion and, when they had been carefully instructed, he commanded that they should be washed and dressed in clean clothes and should present themselves for baptism with their tapers and white robes. They

did everything in silence as they had been told and on the appointed day, without the knowledge of their parents, having been washed and purified and dressed in new and clean garments, they presented themselves to the bishop with their white robes and tapers in order to receive holy baptism. You would have seen then angelic countenances in human form, you would have seen devilish squalor and laziness expelled and the attractive mien of the new man displayed on the faces of the Christian youths. The bishop and all the other priests and clergy rejoiced, and marvelled at the grace which they beheld in them. But why say more? They were baptized, and to complete the Octave of their purification they stayed with us eight days without returning to their parents' house.

XXVIII. When their mother (their father being absent) heard what had happened, before the youths had put off their white baptismal robes, she was filled with indescribable joy and said to one of her servants, "Go, tell my lord the bishop that I am coming to see him and my sons." She was a person who was held in high reputation and possessed great influence in that city. When the bishop heard that she was coming he went out of the place where he was staying and sat down on the grass in the open air, and placed his converts, who were still wearing their baptismal robes, at his feet, the clergy standing round. But when they saw their mother approaching from afar, they modestly arose, and, after first bowing to the bishop, as was becoming, and seeking his permission, they advanced to meet her. When she saw them clad in their white baptismal robes the greatness of her joy stupefied her and she fell suddenly to the ground dissolved in tears. The bishop and clergy ran and lifted her up and held her and comforted her, for they imagined that she had collapsed owing to excess of grief. When, however, she had recovered her breath she said, "I thank Thee, Lord Jesus Christ, who art

the author of all hope and consolation, that I behold my sons as recipients of Thy sacraments and adorned with the truth of Thy religion. For Thou knowest, O Lord Jesus Christ, that for many years past I have not ceased to commend these in my secret heart to Thy compassion, and to beg that Thou wouldst do for them what Thou hast done;" and as she said this she kissed and embraced the boys.

Then she said to the bishop, "Blessed has been thy entrance into this town, most reverend father, for thy perseverance has won much people to the Lord. Be not wearied by the delay that has occurred. I myself, who stand before thee trusting in the help of Almighty God, strengthened, O father, by thy presence, and relying on the support of these my pledges, confess that I am a Christian; a confession which I have not dared to make before." She declared, moreover, that in the days of her youth she had been brought from a Christian land, and that, being noble and beautiful in appearance, she had been married to one who was rich and powerful and had had three sons by him.[1] The bishop then gave thanks to God for all that had happened and, as the lady made her confession, he strengthened her faith and her confidence by words of comfort and, in accordance with his generous habit, he gave her a valuable robe made of the skin of a crane, and at her request, as she had now begun to teach them with all confidence, he washed all her servants with the water of regeneration. Eventually all her neighbours and acquaintances, men, women and children, were received into the same Christian society. On the day in which the youths laid aside their baptismal robes, after eight days had elapsed, the bishop clothed them in gowns of fine cloth which were ornamented with

[1] The *Vita Priif.* (II. 9) gives quite a different account and states that Domizlaus had been a Christian and had been seduced into idolatry by his heathen concubine,

gold and needlework on the shoulders and arms. He gave them two golden girdles and some embroidered shoes, and, having strengthened them with words of teaching and with the sacrament of thanksgiving, he sent them back rejoicing to their mother's house. Thus, in marvellous fashion, did the blessed Otto make use of his gold and gifts. For in order to secure their salvation he offered men money and provided them with instruction, and, whilst he won the favour of his ignorant pupils by material gifts, he educated them by his spiritual teaching. With what enhanced interest he gathered from time to time his votive offerings into the treasure house of his Lord will be discerned from the following statement.

XXIX. When the above-mentioned youths reached their companions they began to explain how they had been treated and taught by the bishop and to tell of his great learning and probity and of his piety and kindness, nor did they forget to declare how he excelled all others in munificence and generosity And in order to prove their case they said, "See how in addition to all his other acts of kindness, he has clothed us with these garments and adorned us with these golden girdles. At his own expense he redeems captives and clothes and feeds them and permits them to go free. Was anything like this ever seen or heard in Pomerania? What acts like unto these are done by our pontiffs and priests? Of a truth the gratuitous redemption of captives who had been rotting in prison, or in fetters, had caused many of our citizens to think that some god had come amongst men in visible form, but he denied this and said that he was not a god, but wished to be spoken and thought of as a servant of the most high God who had been sent to us to bring salvation. He said, moreover, that the immortality of the soul and the resurrection of the body and the glory of eternal life were part of the Christian teaching. Why should

we not believe him?" As the pagan youths heard these and other like statements made by the boys, being assisted by the grace of God they were drawn and attracted by them to the same enthusiastic belief, and when the boys returned to the bishop, they drew with them many who were eager to receive the elements of gospel teaching. What more shall I say? They were instructed and baptized, and the hoary wisdom of parents condescended to be taught by boys and youths, and the flame of faith gradually advanced till the whole city glowed; and the people came forward daily to embrace the faith, not now secretly nor few at a time, but openly and in large numbers. Meanwhile the husband of this matron and the father of these Christian first-fruits, who was far away from home on a journey, when he heard that his wife and sons and all his household had abandoned paganism and were living in a Christian manner, would fain have died for grief. But his wife, who had foreseen what might happen, sent some of his relations and friends to meet him and to bring him the balm of consolation, while she herself at home ceased not to offer to the Lord prayers and effective vows in order to secure his conversion. When therefore he returned and saw not only the members of his household but others who were neighbours and fellow-citizens who had put off the old man and were walking in newness of life, God visited his heart and he was without difficulty induced to conform his actions to theirs.

XXX. While these things were happening in the town Paulicius and the messengers alike of the pagans and Christians arrived from the Duke of Polonia and, having accomplished that which had been commanded them, they brought back a letter from the king which read as follows: "Bolezlaus, by the favour of Almighty God, Duke of Polonia, and the enemy of all pagans, to the Pomeranian race and to the people

of Stettin who remain true to their pledges and promises offers firm peace and lasting friendship, but to those who do not observe them, slaughter and burning and lasting hostility. If I desired an occasion to attack you I could be justly indignant because I perceive that you have not kept faith but have gone back therefrom and have not received in befitting manner my lord and father Bishop Otto, who is worthy of all honour and reverence and whose fame is spread amongst all peoples and races, who has moreover been sent from God by our instrumentality to promote your salvation; neither have ye been obedient to his teaching according to the fear of God.

"All these things constitute a strong indictment against you, but my representatives and your own, who are honourable and prudent men, have intervened on your behalf, and more especially the bishop himself who is staying with you and who is your evangelist and apostle. I have judged it right therefore to accede to their advice and petition, and have decided to lighten your burden of servitude and tribute so that ye may with greater readiness take upon you the yoke of Christ. The whole land of the Pomeranian peoples is to pay as a public tribute to the Duke of Polonia, whoever he may be, only 300 silver marks year by year. If war assail him they are to assist him in the following manner. Every nine heads of households shall equip for the war the tenth with arms and money and shall meanwhile carefully provide for his household. If ye keep this agreement and conform to the Christian religion, ye shall obtain peace from my outstretched hand, and the joy of eternal life, and on all occasions ye shall receive as friends and allies the protection and support of the people of Polonia." An assembly was thereupon held at which these statements were read out in the presence of the people and the chiefs, who

eagerly took the oaths, rejoicing more than if as at Nacla[1] they had been subdued by arms, and they submitted themselves to gospel teaching. The bishop then seized the occasion and ascended a pulpit and said, "It has now become my duty to speak to you. Rejoice in the Lord always, again I say rejoice:[2] let your moderation, your faith, and your conversion be known unto all: let it be known to the whole world. For the whole world has been distressed on account of your unbelief. For, my beloved brethren, the whole world as far as this corner of your land recognizes the light of truth, and yet you desire to remain in darkness. Let it be your shame and regret that you have not hitherto recognized your Creator. As therefore you have been late in turning to Him, you should run with the greater eagerness and hasten to overtake those who have preceded you in the faith, and your desire should be that those who have mourned over your blindness should be able to rejoice over your illumination in Christ. And first of all, being armed with the sign of the Cross, you must immediately renounce those who have deceived you, your gods who are deaf and dumb, your graven images and the unclean spirits that are in them: you must destroy the temples and break in pieces the images, so that when His enemies have been cast out by you, your Lord God, who is the living and true God, may condescend to dwell in your midst. For, unless you cast away all other gods, He cannot look upon you with favour. For He refuses and disdains any alliance with other gods and His temple has nothing in common with idols. But I know that you do not yet fully believe, I know that you fear the demons that inhabit your temples and graven images, and that therefore you will not dare to destroy them. Will you, however, permit me and my brother priests and clergy to attack the

[1] *See* Herbordus II. 5. [2] Phil. iv. 4.

images and the temples with their pointed roofs ?[1] and if you see that we are protected by the sign of the holy cross and remain uninjured, then, protected by the same victorious symbol, you may join with us in destroying the doors and walls with axes and hatchets and in overthrowing and burning them."

XXXI. When they had heard and agreed to this suggestion, the bishop and the priests celebrated mass, and having received the communion, armed themselves with axes and hoes[2] and proceeded to attack the temples, and after having cut down and demolished everything they climbed the roofs and tore them down. Meanwhile, the inhabitants stood watching to see what their unhappy gods would do, and whether, or not, they would defend their own houses. But when they saw that no evil befel the destroyers, they said, "If these gods, whose temples and sacred places are being torn down, possessed any divine power, they would surely defend themselves, but if they are unable to defend or help themselves, how can they defend or help us?" Saying this they made an attack and overthrew and destroyed everything, and they divided amongst themselves the wooden materials and carried them to their own houses to be used for cooking their bread and food. And as it was held to be right that he who seized most should have most, all the four temples which had pointed roofs (*continæ*) were broken down and demolished with marvellous rapidity. In case any reader fail to understand the meaning or origin of the word *continæ*[3] it should be known that most words in the Slavonic language are connected with Latin; we suppose therefore that the word *continæ* was in ancient time derived from *continere* (to hold together).

[1] *See* Note 3.

[2] *sarpis*. We should probably read *sarculis*.

[3] Another more probable derivation is from the Polish word *koneyna*, which means a point or end of line. The word would therefore probably denote a building with pointed or steep roof.

XXXII. Now there were in the town of Stettin four temples,[1] of which the principal one was built with marvellous care and skill. It had sculptures within and without and from the walls projected images of men, birds and beasts, the appearance of which was so natural that they might have been thought to be living and breathing; another thing especially remarkable was that owing to the care that had been taken by the painters over their work the colours of the images outside could not be dimmed or washed off either by snow or rain. Into this temple the people brought, in accordance with the ancient custom of their ancestors, the stores and arms of their enemies which they captured, and whatever spoils they took by land or by sea, as they were directed to do by the law relating to the giving of a tenth. They had placed here gold and silver bowls with which their nobles and great men were accustomed to predict events and to feast and drink, and which on festival days might be brought out as from a sanctuary. They had also preserved there for the honour and adornment of their gods horns of wild bulls covered with gold and interspersed with gems, some for use as drinking cups and others as musical instruments; swords also and knives and much valuable furniture which was rare and beautiful in appearance. All these things they decided should be given to the bishop and the priests when the temple had been destroyed. But he said, "Be it far from me that we should be enriched by you, for we have at home things like these and even better; do you rather, who are the owners of them, distribute them for your own use and with the blessing of God." And after sprinkling them all with water that had been blessed he made over them the sign of the holy cross and commanded that they should divide them among themselves. Now there was a three-headed

[1] *Vita Prüf.* gives the number as two.

image which had its three heads on one body and was called Triglav. This with its three small heads adhering to part of the body was the only thing that he took; he carried it away with him as a trophy and afterwards sent it to Rome as a proof of the conversion of this people, so that the Apostolic Lord[1] and the whole Church might see what results he had attained amongst this race by pulling up and planting, by building and destroying. There were three other temples which were held in lower estimation and were less ornamented. Only seats and tables had been built round on the inside as the people were accustomed to hold councils and meetings there, for on certain days and hours they used to come to these temples either to drink or to play, or to transact serious business. There was also there a large and shady oak tree with a delightful fountain underneath, which the simple-minded people regarded as rendered sacred by the presence of a certain god, and treated with great veneration. After the destruction of the temples the people begged the bishop not to cut it down as he wished to do. They promised moreover that they would never again venerate in the name of religion either that tree or place, and said that it was only for the sake of its shade and its other attractions, which were not in themselves unlawful, that they desired to save it and they did not desire to be saved by it. When the bishop had received this promise he said, "I agree concerning this tree, but there is a living creature from which you obtain oracles which must be taken away, as it is not lawful for Christians to practise augury or soothsaying."

XXXIII. Now the people possessed a horse of great size which was plump, dark-coloured and very spirited. It did no work throughout the year and was regarded as being so holy that no one was worthy to ride it. It had also as its attentive guardian one

[1] *i. e.* Honorius II.

of the four priests who were attached to the temples. Whenever the people contemplated setting out on any expedition by land to attack their enemies, or in order to secure booty, they were accustomed to forecast the result in this way. Nine spears were placed on the ground separated from one another by the space of a cubit. When then the horse had been made ready and was bridled, the priest, who was in charge of it, led the horse three times backwards and forwards across the spears that were lying on the ground. If the horse crossed without knocking its feet or disturbing the spears, they regarded this as an omen of success and proceeded on their expedition without anxiety, but if the result were otherwise they remained inactive. Although some of the people vehemently objected, nevertheless, by the help of God, the bishop at length completely did away with all auguries of this kind and with the calculations that were made with dry wood, by which they sought for auguries in view of a naval battle or a predatory expedition, and as he feared that the horse, which was used for this evil purpose, should be a snare or cause of stumbling to these simple people, he ordered that it should be sold and sent to another country, and said that it was better fitted to be a chariot horse than to furnish predictions. When, as a result of the bishop's teaching, they had cast away all their superstitions and follies, he admonished them that they should regard all Christians as their brothers, and should not sell or kill them or take spoil from them,[1] but should behave towards all of them in a fraternal and neighbourly manner and should expect the same conduct from them in return.

And inasmuch as it was monstrously cruel to kill female infants he urged the women to agree that this should not occur again. For up to that time,

[1] Herbordus adds that they should not take them captive and torture them or disturb the boundaries of their lands.

if any woman had given birth to many daughters, the people were accustomed to kill some of them in order that they might provide the more easily for the rest. Moreover they did not consider this to be murder.

XXXIV. When then the city had been purged of its monstrous wickedness and filth and the practice of polygamy had been abandoned, those who had secretly accepted the faith before the people generally had given their consent, assisted and joined in the work of evangelization; instruction was given in the streets and open places, the gospel trumpet was sounded, crosses were erected, the crucifix was adored, the name of Christ was upon every tongue and occupied the attention of all, and everyone either learnt, or taught, the Christian faith. In this city, which was of such great size and contained nine hundred fathers of families besides little children and women and a large number of other persons, there was no one found who, after the people had given their consent to the faith, tried to draw back from the truth of the Gospel, with the exception of the priest who had been in charge of the horse to which we have referred. After he had wearied the bishop by his great insolence and had sowed tares above the good seed, he was on a certain day earnestly entreated by the people (to desist) and was at the same time vanquished in argument by the bishop.

Continuing, however, in his obstinate refusal to accept the truth, he was by divine vengeance afflicted with a swelling of his belly and after much pain and outcry he died. This event produced great fear throughout the whole city and all the people praised Christ and declared that God was the mighty upholder of His own law.

XXXVI. When the shrines and images had been destroyed and the priest had been punished by God, the victorious Cross was erected, and baptisteries

were built, and fenced round with screens and everything was arranged in a religious and fitting manner. The people then, after being instructed and taught for several days, came forward, with all seriousness and in due order, to receive the water of regeneration, having first washed themselves completely in the baths, and having put on pure and clean garments. They carried also burning candles and their white baptismal robes, and, inflamed with an eager desire to receive the Holy Spirit, they sang, each in his own heart, "As the hart panteth after the water springs, so panteth my soul after thee, O God. My soul is athirst for God, the living fountain; when shall I come and appear in the presence of the Lord?"[1] Their spiritual father contemplated in silence the fervour and zeal of his children, though his spirit was uplifted by the greatness of his joy; and as his tears of joy gushed forth whilst occupied by his task he gave vent to his exultation and said, "Come, ye children, hearken unto me, I will teach you the fear of the Lord; draw near to Him and be enlightened and your faces shall not be ashamed."[2] The words of the exhortation used by the priest were peculiarly apposite, for he beheld that which his companions watched with profound amazement and which the people themselves bid us observe, that on the countenances of all who had been baptized there shone a light of joy and spiritual grace so that the baptized could be as easily distinguished from the unbaptized, as light from darkness. It was possible then for all to see what the Spirit of darkness could bestow upon his worshippers and what God the lover and author of light could bestow upon those who love Him. Happy souls from the town itself and from all the surrounding provinces ran together eager to enter the royal wedding feast. The bishop himself baptized the boys apart from the others, while some

[1] Ps. xlii. 1, 2. [2] Ps. xxxiv. 2, 5.

of the priests baptized the men and others the women, each separately. In the case of all they acted as the servants of God, and the people, liberated as from Egyptian bondage, crossed the enriching sea and, as in olden time the law was proclaimed at Mount Sinai, so the people were taught what Christians must avoid and seek; and, being fully instructed in the faith, they gave careful attention and were eager to do what they were taught.

They continued then in the same place engaged as busy workers for nearly three months more, destroying and building up, pulling down and planting and watering that which had been planted, whilst the Lord's field provided for His cultivators necessary subsistence with pleasing and rich abundance. For in all things that pertained to the supply of their wants the people were generous and kind, and they desired that if it should prove to be possible, they might never again be separated from them. When all things had been arranged which were thought to be beneficial to the newly formed Christian community, a church was built with great care in the midst of the market-place of Stettin, and everything that was necessary for the performance of the priestly office was provided and the bishop arranged that a priest should be appointed to preside over the people, even as he did in all other places.]

X. We must not omit to mention how, through the witness borne by a miracle, the Lord deigned to render famous His faithful labourer who toiled manfully on His behalf even as He had declared by the mouth of the prophet: "Whoso glorifieth Me, him will I glorify."[1] Two women, who were still entangled in the errors of heathenism, were seriously ill, so much so that they were deprived of all use of

[1] 1 Sam. ii. 30.

their limbs and appeared to be about to die. Otto went to them and declared to them the way of salvation, as they were able to receive it, and, venturing to rely upon the mercy of Christ, he promised them that if they would believe and be baptized, they should receive healing not only of the soul, but of the body, and should become completely well. Having made this promise the servant of God forthwith prayed and placed his hands on their heads, and fortified them with the sign of the cross and words of benediction, whereupon their pains were immediately put to flight and they were restored to their former health. Being set free then by the prayers of the holy bishop from a double death, that is a death of body and soul, they were regenerated by the water of salvation with great joy. They were, moreover, the cause of the salvation and conversion of many.

XI. The people of Julin, who had before driven away from them the herald of truth, when they heard that the inhabitants of Stettin had received the faith, began, in accordance with God's good pleasure, to feel remorse, and despatched messengers of rank to recall the man of God. When Otto saw them, he was moved with holy zeal and said, "Why have you come to me whom you hated and drove away from you?" They, however, made humble apology and begged for pardon, saying, "Honoured father, we did not dare to infringe the ancient law of our fathers and ancestors without having obtained the approval of the leaders whom we revere in Stettin, which is our chief city. But now that your God has, through your instrumentality, subjected our leaders to Himself, all our resistance is at an end, and we are ready to submit to your counsels and to receive the teaching of salvation." When he heard this the bishop knelt and gave thanks to God, and, setting out with the messengers, he was received by the inhabitants of Julin with due reverence and opened to those who

were in error the way of truth, and, purifying them by the sacrament of baptism, he united to God His adopted people. The number of those baptized at this time was reckoned at twenty-two thousand, one hundred and fifty-six men. All these who, on account of their ignorance of their Creator and their worship of material things, might be compared to the foolish beasts of burden and were made like unto them,[1] did the holy father lead into the true path and teach to offer a rational service to the living God. Every man who is without the knowledge of his Creator is a mere animal.

XII. It is worth while to draw attention to the circumstances attending the preaching of Otto for the sake of those who will come after, so that the inquiring reader should not fail to obtain the information he desires. For his great love of Christ and his enthusiasm, which in those times was well-nigh unique, ought not to be lightly esteemed. Whilst other bishops were more eager to build cities and castles than churches or dwellings for Christ's poor, and were content to continue in listless ease rather than to approach the distant territories of barbarians for the sake of preaching the gospel, the thoughts of this blessed servant of God were of a far different kind. Never at any time did he devote his energies to the building of fortifications or towns, as he said with the apostle, "we have here no abiding city, but we look for one which is to come."[2] Accordingly he built year by year churches dedicated to Christ, cells also for the faithful and guest houses, with so great devotion and liberality that his actions were a cause of astonishment and admiration to all men. And though his engrossing employment in promoting the worship of God in Teutonic lands might well have excused him from the arduous toil involved in farther journeys as a messenger of the Gospel, he was by no

[1] Ps. xlix. 12. [2] Heb. xiii. 14.

means content with what had been accomplished, but strove to widen and extend the love which was spread abroad in his heart by the Holy Spirit, to include even the remotest Pomeranian tribe, so that he might there beget through the preaching of the gospel a people to be the Lord's possession and to become sons of God. To such he might be able to say with joy in the words of St. Paul, "What is our hope, or joy, or crown of glory? Are not ye in the presence of the Lord Jesus Christ at His coming? For ye are our glory and joy, and the proof of my apostleship."[1] We will clearly set forth for those who desire to know the times of his most happy apostleship and the teaching which was supported by his ecclesiastical authority.

In the year of our Lord eleven hundred and twenty-four, that is in the second "indiction,"[2] when Calixtus the second occupied the papal chair at Rome, Otto by the grace of God, eighth bishop of the Church of Bamberg, inflamed by the fire of divine love and strengthened by the apostolic authority already mentioned, approached part of the territory belonging to the Pomeranian pagans and certain towns of Leuticia, in order that he might recall them from the error of idolatry and might lead them into the way of truth and to a knowledge of Christ the Son of God. And when, by the help of the Lord, these had been converted and baptized, he built and consecrated churches, and taught the people to observe the ordinances of the holy fathers. Thus he taught them to abstain on Fridays from flesh and milk, after the manner of Christians; and on the Lord's Day to abandon all secular[3] work and come to church in order to hear the divine Office; and to offer assiduous

[1] 1 Thess. i. 19; 1 Cor. ix. 2.

[2] *Indictio* denotes a period of fifteen years. The account which follows, *i. e.* to end of Chap. XII., was written down by the order of Otto himself. See statement by Ekkehardus, *Mon. Germ.* SS. VI. 263.

[3] *malo*, lit. evil.

and earnest prayers. He taught them also to keep the Saints' Days and their vigils with all diligence, as had been explained to them, and to observe carefully the holy season of Lent by fasting, watching, almsgiving and prayers, and to bring their infants to be baptized on the Passover sabbath and at Pentecost, accompanied by their godparents and with candles and the hood, which is called the "white robe." He taught them too that when the infants had been dressed in the robes of innocence they were to bring them to church day by day till the eighth day and to see that they were present at the celebration of the divine Office. He strictly forbade also the murder of daughters, which was a very common crime amongst them, and taught them that they should not bring their own sons and daughters to be baptized, but should seek godparents for them, and that the children should trust and love their godparents even as their natural parents. He forbade also anyone to have as his wife the child of his own mother, or any relation as far as the sixth and even seventh generation, and ordered that each man should be content with one wife, and that the Christian dead should not be buried with the heathen in the woods or the fields, but in cemeteries, as is the custom of all Christians; that they should not place sticks on their tombs, and should abandon all pagan customs and depraved practices; that they should not build idol temples, nor visit witches[1] or act as soothsayers, and that they should not eat anything unclean, nor that which had died of itself, or had been suffocated, or offered as a sacrifice to idols, nor should they eat the blood of animals. They should not participate with pagans, nor take food or drink with them or in their vessels, nor should they revert to pagan customs in all these matters. He enjoined upon them that while they

[1] For *phitonissas* we should probably read *pythonissas*. This word is applied to the witch of Endor in the Vulgate: 1 Chron. x. 13.

were in health they should come to the priests of the Church and confess their sins, and when they were sick they should call the presbyters to them and after having been purified by confession should receive the Body of the Lord. He instructed them also that they should display penitence in respect of perjury, adultery, homicide, and other crimes in accordance with the canonical ordinances, and should obediently observe all the rules of the Christian faith; and lastly that women after childbirth should come to church and receive the customary blessing of the priest.

XIII. The idol priests alone refused to accept the right way and laid many snares for the Lord's servant, whom they sought to destroy secretly. But when multitudes hastened day by day to accept the faith, the sacrilegious and profane priests found no means to approach him, but, being confused and awestruck by his appearance, after the example of the magicians Zaroes and Arfaxat, who fled from Christ's apostles Matthew, Simeon and Judas,[1] they left that district and retired to a distance. And because they were not able to raise an open persecution against God's servant, they tried to injure him by slanders and horrible blasphemies; and wherever they went they stirred up envy and hatred against him, and heaped upon him infamies and reproaches. As a recompense for this, however, the worthy bishop obtained from the Lord the greater grace, for as it is written,[2] "The blessing of the Lord is upon the head of the just," so God bestowed upon him an eternal inheritance in heaven, and he found favour in the sight of all men.

When the temples and the idol images had been destroyed by Otto, the sacrilegious priests carried away by stealth outside the province the golden image of Triglav which was chiefly worshipped by

[1] For an account of this incident see "Acta S. Matthaei apostoli" in the *Acta SS.* Sep. VI. 220.

[2] Prov. x, 6.

the people, and committed it to the care of a certain widow who lived in a small country house where it was not likely to be looked for. The widow for a stipulated reward took charge of this profane image and shut it up as a man shuts the pupil of his eye. For this purpose the trunk of a great tree was hollowed out, and the image of Triglav, after being covered with a cloak, was placed inside so that no opportunity of seeing, not to say finding it, was afforded to anyone. Only a small hole was left in the trunk where a sacrificial offering might be inserted, nor did anyone enter the house except for the purpose of offering an idolatrous sacrifice.

The famous apostle of Pomerania, on hearing this, considered many plans for getting to the place, for he feared, as eventually proved to be the case, that after his departure this image might bring harm to the people who were ignorant and not yet confirmed in the faith. But, being endowed with great sagacity, he wisely reflected that if he were to announce that he was going thither publicly, the priests would hear of his coming and would again remove the image of Triglav secretly to some more remote place. Accordingly he wisely determined to send secretly to the widow's house one of his companions named Hermann, who was acquainted with the speech of the barbarians and was a man of understanding and intelligence. He directed him to assume the native dress, and to pretend that he was going to sacrifice to Triglav. Hermann then bought a native cap and cloak and, after encountering many dangers in the course of his difficult journey, he came at length to the house of the widow and declared that, as the result of an appeal to his god Triglav, he had been delivered from a tempestuous sea and desired to offer a fitting sacrifice as a token of gratitude for his safety. He said also that he had been led thither in a marvellous manner and by unknown ways. The widow replied,

"If you have been sent by the god, behold the sanctuary in which our god is detained, shut up in a hollow tree. Himself indeed you cannot see or touch, but prostrate yourself in front of the tree and note from a distance the small opening into which you may put the sacrifice that you have vowed. When you have placed it there, shut the door reverently and go out, and if you desire to preserve your life be careful to tell no one what I have said." He entered eagerly into this sanctuary and threw into the hole a piece of silver in order that the sound of the falling metal might suggest that he had offered a sacrifice. But he quickly drew back what he had thrown, and so far from showing honour to Triglav he displayed his contempt for it by spitting. He then examined it more closely to see if there was any means by which he could accomplish the business for which he had been sent, and he noticed that the image of Triglav had been pressed into the trunk so carefully and firmly that it could not possibly be pulled out or moved. At this he was greatly distressed and doubted as to what he could do, and he said to himself, "Alas that I have traversed so much sea to no purpose. What shall I say to my lord, or who will believe that I have been here if I return empty?" Looking round he noticed that the seat of Triglav was fixed to a wall close by: it was of great antiquity and was of very little use. He leapt with joy and, pulling from the wall this inauspicious gift, he made off. He started early in the night and with all haste rejoined his master and his companions, to whom he narrated all that he had done, and showed the seat of Triglav in order to confirm the truth of his statements. The apostle of Pomerania, after taking counsel with his companions, decided that he and they ought to refrain from further search for the idol for fear lest it should appear that he was prompted to do this not by his zeal for justice but by

his desire to secure the gold. When then the chiefs and elders had been brought together he exacted of them an oath that they would entirely abandon the worship of Triglav and, after breaking up his image, would use all the gold for the redemption of captives.

XIV. But while "the strong man armed" who had hitherto possessed Pomerania as his house was overcome by Christ, who was stronger and who distributed the spoils, and while his arms were shattered by the good bishop, he could not endure his forcible exclusion from his own dwelling-places, but as a roaring lion he sought to do, even if it were but a little, harm to God's servant. And as he could find nothing else that he could do because he was prevented by the Lord, he destroyed the greater part of Bamberg by an unexpected and dangerous fire, so that when the noble shepherd had completed his preaching amongst strangers and joyfully revisited his spouse, he found nothing intact but found her injured and afflicted with sorrow. It was on the night on which the festival of the holy martyr Hermes was being celebrated—by whose body this place had been distinguished from the beginning by its blessed founder, Henry—that the lamentable fire started, having been occasioned by a certain woman who was in the act of childbirth. The fire immediately seized upon everything round with great violence, and created so great a devastation round the town that the houses which escaped were few and far between. The town itself with its churches that were built inside and outside of it remained uninjured, thanks to the protection of the blessed Hermes and of its other defenders. So the fraud and malice of the crafty enemy were brought to nothing, for the chaste spouse of Bamberg soon dispersed the dark cloud of this calamity when her father, like the splendour of the undimmed sun, returned to it, and

the devil was unable to hold any longer the house which he had possessed in security. For when Christ reigned, through the apostleship of the holy Otto, in Pomerania the sword of the enemy came to an end and their cities were destroyed.

XV. Many of the people of Julin had gone across the sea on business, and when they heard of the conversion of their fellow-citizens, they, being assisted by the Spirit of God, began to emulate their conduct, and when they returned to their metropolis submitted their necks to the yoke of Christ the King of kings, and were forthwith baptized by the presbyters whom Otto had established there; and, being imbued with like devotion, they were united to their fellow-citizens who had already adopted the laws of the Christians. And as the faithful preachers of the truth strove to further God's work, the Church throughout that whole district increased and became strong, whilst the Lord added daily to it those who should be saved.[1] The Apostle of the Pomeranians established there two churches, one in the town of Julin in honour of the saints Adalbert[2] and Wenceslaus,[3] who were greatly renowned among the barbarians, on the site where the profane rites of devil worship were formerly performed; so that in place of base commercial trade the Christian services might henceforth be carried on. The other church he built outside the town in a wide and pleasant plain in memory of the blessed chief of the apostles, and there it was that he established the episcopal seat.

[H. XXXVI. Now the people of Julin had, without

[1] Acts ii. 47.

[2] The *Vita Prüf.* (II. 13) says that he dedicated this church to Adalbert because he believed that the conversion of the people of Julin was largely due to his intercessory prayers.

[3] *Vita Prüf.* (II. 16) reads Georgius. St. George was the patron saint of the Prüfling monastery.

the knowledge of the bishop, sent certain wary and expert men to find out secretly what had happened there and whether or not the bishop was being received by its inhabitants, and with instructions to learn and report the methods and aims of the bishop. When they had examined everything with the utmost care and had found no trace of imposture or of guile in the preachers and had observed that the inhabitants of Stettin had, although somewhat late, unanimously accepted the faith, they returned to their own people and, after the manner of apostles or evangelists, though no Christians were present, they as pagans speaking to pagans, ceased not to declare how many good things they had seen and heard and how good and pure were the Christian faith and teaching.

And as their words flashed forth little by little, the whole city was inflamed, even as a reed burns in the fire, and the people soon began to show disgust and horror at their abominations and to renounce their idols and the errors in which they had been held. The bishop, moreover, remembering the agreement in accordance with which he had retired from them, contemplated proceeding with haste to visit them after the conversion of Stettin. He was, however, asked to visit first of all two small towns, namely, Gradicia[1] and Lubinum, which belonged to the town of Stettin and were situated on its border.

But when these men had received the Gospel teaching, as a thirsty land receives rain, they were initiated into the sacraments of the faith, an altar was built and consecrated in each town, and priests were ordained, and the bishop and his companions having sailed with a favourable wind along the Odor to the sea, reached the shores of Julin.

I cannot describe the joy and exultation with which we were received there and the humble apologies with which they besought us to forget the injuries

[1] *i. e.* Garz, on the River Oder.

that we had before received. Nor did they hesitate to fulfil the conditions on which they could become Christians, whether it was to learn or to do, to accept or to cast away; so that you might have seen a fulfilment of the Scripture which says, "He spake the word and they were made,"[1] and again, "A people whom I have not known has served me, and on hearing of me has become obedient to me."[2] This change was brought about by the Most High. For those whom they had before driven roughly from their borders with pikes and clubs they treated afterwards with the utmost kindness and respect, as though they had been angels come to them from heaven, and they regarded their words and actions as sacred and even divine. But why say more? The whole town and province and all their inhabitants turned to the Lord, and so great was the multitude of men and women and children of both sexes that in the course of two months, although we continued at the task without ceasing, we were hardly able to baptize them all. God, who sees everything, saw how much exertion and toil Otto, of ever-sacred memory, underwent whilst speaking, crying aloud to a multitude of people, baptizing and performing many other actions. Inasmuch as this town was situated in the centre of Pomerania and inasmuch as the citizens of Julin were warlike and stiff-necked, both the Duke Wortizlaus and the chiefs of the country decided that the seat of the bishopric should be established there, in order that, as a result of the continuous presence of the teacher, a fierce race might become mild and might not return to its former errors, and because the holy oil and the other things which are to be obtained from a bishop might more easily be carried from the

[1] Ps. cxlviii. 5.

[2] Ps. xviii. 4 f. The Hebrew text reads, "A people whom I have not known shall serve me; as soon as they hear of me they shall obey me."

centre of the country to its boundaries. Accordingly the bishop ordered that two churches should be erected there, though he consecrated only the altars and the sanctuary, because the rest of the buildings was meanwhile being erected, and as he was in haste to go elsewhere, he had not time to await their completion.]

XVI. As the good teacher prolonged his stay there for the benefit of their souls, very many of his flock, not only in Bamberg, but of those who were collected together in monasteries, or in ecclesiastical parishes, became incredibly anxious and distressed in view of the long-continued absence of their great pastor, and endeavoured by every means to bring him back to them. With this object they sent frequent messengers to him and added prayers to prayers and redoubled the expression of their eager desires. Nor did they cease to agitate for his return by sending letters which bore witness to their filial love. One of these deserves to be inserted here, both on account of its own charm and as a lasting reminiscence of its pious author, the Abbot Wignand. The letter reads thus.

"To the beloved lord and father, the holy bishop Otto, who is also the Apostle of the Pomeranian people, Wignand, the unworthy overseer of the Tharisian monastery, renders his devoted service, and offers on his behalf the prayers that are his due.

"Blessed be God the Father of mercies and the Father of lights who formed you from the womb to be His servant[1] and gave you as a light to the Gentiles,[2] that His salvation might be proclaimed by you in the furthest parts of the earth and that the darkened hearts of the Gentiles might be illuminated by the light of faith. Wherefore the holy Mother, the Church, rejoices fittingly in the recent increase of her sons, whilst as a result of your ministry many

[1] Isa. xlix. 5. [2] Isa. xlix. 6.

thousands of a barbarous nation are born again in holy baptism, who, after casting away the worship of idols and destroying their temples, have built them again as churches, and serve and worship the true God. Since then the Gospel has been preached to those who were strangers and the task of your great ministry has been completed, the whole flock comes with joy to meet the pastor as he returns to his own sheep. Clergy and people alike, together with a line of monks, receive their own father with great delight, singing with joy and exultation, 'Return, return, O Shulammite, return, return, that we may look upon thee.'[1] I, who was the least of all these, though second to none in faith and whole-hearted love, came to Saxony about the time of the feast of St. Mauricius,[2] desiring greatly to meet my lord and that I might be the first to receive him as I was the last to escort him when he went out. But when your messenger came back I was disappointed of my expectation, though I rejoiced greatly at your return and, because I could not do so in the body, I strove to be the first to salute my lord in the spirit of humility, saying not only with my lips but with great joy of heart,

> "Hail, Father, I with reverence meet,
> In verse do my great leader greet,
> Return, desire and hope of all,
> To thee thy sheep for healing call.

"We would not have you ignorant, holy father, that since your departure we have had constant trouble and tribulation. For that tyrant Conrad has stayed for nearly a whole year in the castle of Nurenberg and has ravaged the property near by that belongs to the bishopric. He has taken part of the corn that belonged to you and has ordered that money should be paid to him; he has twice taken

[1] Cant. vi. 13. [2] *i. e.* Sept. 22.

captive and despoiled of his property the steward from Rostal; it is said that he has also endeavoured with cunning craft to seize the town of Bamberg, but, thanks be to God, his wickedness has not prospered. For I and Cunrad its guardian, who were eager to perform the task entrusted to us, placed a watch over the town and guards in addition to your other servants. We also built walls around it and have paid the money that was needed to the soldiers, and have taken diligent care of all the other matters which you entrusted to us. Hermann and Frederic are at bitter enmity, and lay many plots against each other; robbery is repaid by robbery and burning by burning; moreover the house which is situated below Lapidi Boton,[1] has been burnt together with the church. One night Frederic and his soldiers entered the fortress of Nienstein secretly and began to make a vigorous attack upon it, but those who were in the citadel hurled javelins and threw stones and killed one of the soldiers and wounded many others. Accordingly, without finishing his business, he escaped with difficulty together with his men. Throughout the whole province, moreover, much evil is done and everything is being destroyed by robbery or fire. It is because we hope that your coming will put an end to so many evils and miseries that each and all of us cry, Come, Lord, come, hasten and delay not, come, thou for whom we long, and whom amid the darkness of so many troubles we await. The condition of your other affairs in Bavaria and Saxony is satisfactory. In regard to the matter especially committed to my charge,[2] I would have you know that we have secured seven hundred, and yet another hundred (pounds) of copper, three hundred of which we have brought with the greatest difficulty to Schmal-

[1] *i. e.* Botonstein.

[2] *i. e.* to cover the roof of St. Peter's church at Bamberg with copper. *See* Chap. XVII.

chalten.[1] Now, with our resources exhausted, with burning desire we expect your help and with difficulty await the return of your holiness, which is eagerly desired by the whole kingdom."

This is the letter written by the loving hand of the holy father Wignand.

XVII. This is that Wignand, the delightful preacher, whom the holy Otto chose as his faithful counsellor,[2] and regarded with such great love and reverence that he shared with him all his secrets; and when the guardianship of the town was specially committed to him he entrusted to his care the noble task which he had himself commenced, to cover with copper plates, so as to protect from fire, the larger church of St. Peter together with its towers; nor was his action unjustified.

For he was a man of the greatest wisdom and sagacity, whom it was the glory of our order to see and hear. He not only excelled in spiritual grace, but was beloved by all for the beauty of his person and the charm of his character and deportment. Let me try for a moment worthily to pourtray his venerable appearance and his head which was white like that of Christ. For when he was nearly a hundred years old and was busily engaged day and night in God's work, his eyes shone with a pure light, his steps were firm and swift, his voice penetrating, his teeth numerous and strong, his voice sonorous, his body well set up and not bent with age, his hoary locks did not harmonize with his ruddy looks, and his strength was out of proportion to his age. As in many other cases we did not observe any tenacity of memory, his great age had put an end to this. The cold in his blood did not chill the keenness of his understanding, his furrowed brow did not roughen a countenance contracted by wrinkles, nor did a trembling hand

[1] Smalkalten.

[2] *Auricularius.* For use of word see Vulgate, 2 Sam. xxiii. 23.

write with irregular curves on the wax tablet. In him the Lord showed us the beauty of the future resurrection in order that we might understand concerning sin, for the flesh of others dies while still young, and justly, but he in a later age was still young, and though we see that many sinners have that bodily health they use it to go on sinning, whilst he used it to do good.

Having been instructed from his earliest days in the holy scriptures and having been approved by his pious conversation, when he was vigorously fulfilling the duty of prior under the venerable abbot Wulfram, the holy Otto snatched him away and placed him in charge of the Tharisian monastery. For a long time, that is for more than twenty years, he ruled with distinction, and by his honeyed words he scattered on all sides the sweetness of the heavenly doctrine and incited all men to love God.[1] . . . But I have said enough concerning Wignand.

XVIII. Otto the apostle of the Pomeranians could not withstand the prayers and requests of his brothers and sons, and, after spending the winter at Julin, he resolved, about the time of the Purification of St. Mary, when he had obtained the consent of all, to strengthen by his much-desired return his one only spouse, the Church at Bamberg. The newly planted Church among the Pomeranians, on hearing this, was stricken with great grief, and endeavoured to encompass the steps of the holy teacher with tearful entreaties, and to detain him with them, but all to no purpose. For he replied that grave and urgent matters of business of various kinds awaited him in his own country, and he declared that it would be at great peril to his own soul if, while he sought to win other flocks for Christ, he neglected the sheep that had been specially entrusted to him.

[1] There follows here a long, detailed description of the last days of Wignand.

A large number of his companions and fellow-workers were soon brought together, and he went round amongst all to whom he had imparted the faith and strengthened them in their Christian profession by his advice and his earnest prayers. He first went to the castle of Gamin[1] and thence to Clodona, which had been consecrated in honour of the Holy Cross, and there he baptized many Pomeranians who had returned from the islands of the sea, where they had hidden in fear of the Duke Boleslav. For the Duke Boleslav, who was distinguished for his piety, and his devotion to God and the worshippers of God, was deservedly harsh, and implacable towards idolaters and those accused of crimes. He was wont year after year to raise a large army and to devastate the lands of the pagans in order that, through fear of the sword, they might be brought into subjection to the Christian faith. And when this was accomplished by the instrumentality of Otto, war was changed to peace and all came out of the hiding-places where they had been concealed, and, having accepted the safety which was secured to them by the good bishop, obtained the grace of baptism. This helped to delay the preacher of the truth and kept him for some time at Clodona.[2] When all his business had been accomplished, he set out for Belgard and afterwards for Kolberg. There he completed and consecrated a church in honour of Mary the holy mother of God, the building of which he had some time before commenced.

[H. XXXVIII. After instructing and baptizing the people with great joy, because the harvest was great, we hastened on to other labours. We crossed the river that flows by Clodona and found a certain town which was large and occupied a wide area, but which contained few inhabitants, for the marks of burning

[1] *i. e.* Camina. [2] *Locus Dodinensis.*

and the heaps of corpses showed that it had been devastated by fire and sword. The few inhabitants that remained said that they had been dependents of those who had been killed, or carried away captives, by the Duke of Polonia and had been saved from the sword by flight. They had, moreover, constructed for themselves huts and bowers with branches and twigs round the ruins of the houses, and in these they were taking shelter until they could provide better quarters. The good father, having comforted them by his words and having relieved their wants by gifts, proceeded to instruct and baptize them. Many also of the peasants from the surrounding hamlets came together there and received the sacraments of faith.

XXXIX. Thence we came to Colobrega which is situated on the border of the sea. As nearly all its citizens had sailed after the manner of traders to the outer islands in order to do business, those who were found at home said that they could adopt no new course in the absence of their fellow-citizens, and on this ground they withstood the preaching of the gospel for some time. They were, however, eventually overcome by the repeated exhortations of the bishop. They were then confirmed in the faith of the sacred Trinity and were born again by baptism, and an altar and a sanctuary were built and everything else which was regarded as useful for an infant Church was done in due course. After this the Bishop advanced to Belgrada,[1] which was one day's journey from Colobrega, where he was gladdened by beholding a similar result of his labours, when all of their own accord devoted themselves to the Lord. When this had been accomplished he thought it best to pass by the four remaining towns together with their villages, hamlets and islands, namely Hologost,[2] Gozgougia[3] and Timina,[4]

[1] Belgard. [2] Wolgast.
[3] Gützkow. [4] Demmin.

because the season—it was winter—urged him to return, and to water that which he had planted, lest by extending and not fully cultivating his domain he should run, or have run, in vain.[1] Moreover, if he were to proceed further, it would be well-nigh impossible for him to return to his own place before Palm Sunday, as he had arranged, in order to consecrate the sacred oil.

XL. The wise bishop accordingly made Belgrada the limit of his preaching and, as a faithful husbandman, he traversed again all the places and towns before mentioned in which he had scattered the seeds of faith, in order to ascertain how the seeds were growing. He found that all the buildings which he had left unfinished had become completed basilicas[2] and churches, and he eagerly and gladly devoted himself to the task of dedicating them. And as he was dedicating the churches and confirming the people with the anointing oil, he found very many who desired to be baptized, but who had not been able to be present before at the general baptism, because at that time they were engaged in doing business in foreign parts. The largest number of these were in Clodona, Julin and Stettin. When they heard that the bishop proposed to leave them they gathered together to him with marvellous eagerness, and thought themselves unfortunate if they failed to secure his blessing. In some places this caused us to continue our stay for some time. The bishop was unwilling to leave any town or place in which he had planted the gospel seed without revisiting it one or more times, before his departure from the country, in order to bestow comfort and consolation. After he had thus traversed the whole district, consoling, strengthening and saluting our

[1] Cf. Gal. ii. 2.

[2] The word *basilica* was usually applied at this period to metropolitan churches or cathedrals.

beloved god-children and our little sons, we dismissed them and were ourselves dismissed with the kiss of peace, the grief of departure giving rise on both sides to tears and groans.

They used every endeavour again and again to keep us with them, and eagerly petitioned my master to become their bishop and ruler, promising to submit themselves and all that they possessed to his authority. I must indeed confess that so ardent was the bishop's love for the Church that he had planted that he would gladly have remained with them, but was dissuaded by his clergy.

XLI. Monasteries might certainly be established in this country especially for holy men who, mindful of their own weakness, prefer to inhabit a fertile country rather than dry rocks or a parched desert.

For an incredible number of fish can be obtained there from the sea, also from lakes and ponds. For a denarium you would get a large quantity of freshly pickled fish: if I were to say what I think concerning its taste and composition I should be accused of gluttony. As for wild animals the province abounds in stags, gazelles, wild foals, bears, wild boars, pigs and all kinds of wild beasts. Butter is also to be obtained from cows, and milk from sheep, together with the fat of lambs and rams, and there is a great abundance of honey and wheat, of hemp and of poppies and of all kinds of vegetables. If the country possessed vines, olives and fig trees, you might regard it as the promised land in view of the abundance of its fruit-bearing trees. The bishop, being unwilling that the land should be without the vine, brought with him on his second journey a case full of cuttings and had them planted, so that the land might produce wine for the (Christian) sacrifice. So great are the trust and confidence which prevail amongst the people that they have no experience of theft or fraud and possess no boxes or locked cases. We never saw

there a lock or key and they were themselves astonished to see our pack saddles and our locked cases. Their clothes, their money and all their precious things they store in cases and large jars, which are merely covered over, as they fear no fraud and have never had experience of such. It is marvellous to tell, but their tables are never cleared, or left without food, but each head of a family has a house which is clean and becoming and is available for purposes of refreshment. The table in it is never without food and drink, and when that which is provided is consumed more is supplied. No dirt or uncleanness is allowed, but the dishes are covered with clean napkins and are ready for those who desire to eat. At whatever hour any desire to obtain refreshment, whether they are guests or members of the family, when they come they find everything at the table ready. But I have said enough concerning this.]

The bishop afterwards visited all the churches and with many tears commended them to God, and strengthened by the blessing of the Lord, departed from Pomerania. He then continued his prosperous journey as far as Polonia, and was received by the Duke Boleslav and by all the clergy and people as an angel of God, with indescribable joy and reverence. All the people rejoiced not only on account of the conversion of the Pomeranian race, but for the safety and the return of their greatly-desired father, Otto. His kindly feelings towards the Duke led to his being detained there for some time, after which he went on to Bohemia, where his arrival caused similar joy to the Duke Ladislaus and to all his countrymen. He then came to the Cladrun monastery and won the favour of those who met him by his whole-hearted devotion and by his accustomed humility.

[H. XLII. On our return from this country we

accomplished our journey with the help of our father, the Duke of Polonia. May the Lord Jesus in the day of acknowledgment repay him all the good that he showed to us. For so much affection and kindness was manifested towards us that, as we were stationed in Pomerania in winter time, this excellent man sent us winter garments suitable for the bishop and for each individual person, whether clergy, soldiers, or shield-bearers. As we had now accomplished the task to which he had himself called us, he received all of us on our return as beloved sons, and bestowed fitting honours upon the bishop and all the others, leaving no one unrewarded. At length, as he saw that we were in haste, he dismissed us with many thanks and caused us to be conducted as far as Bohemia. The bishop, on account of the need for haste, was not able to ordain anyone to the bishopric of Pomerania, as he had desired, but, as he relied upon the discretion of the Duke, he entrusted to him the arrangements for ordaining a bishop when opportunity should occur. The Duke elevated to the rank of bishop in this nation one of his own chaplains named Adalbert, whom, together with two other priests, he had given to the bishop as his assistants. To make my story short, Otto arrived at his own place in accordance with his plan before Palm Sunday.[1]]

Otto accordingly entered his own territory with all haste and on the third festal day of Holy Week[2] he came to Michelfeld, where he celebrated the Lord's Supper with due reverence and surrounded by a great company of the faithful. For many of the clergy and people from Bamberg who longed for his angelic presence had come there to meet him, and

[1] *i.e.* before March 22. Ebo states that he arrived on Easter Eve, *i. e.* March 28.

[2] March 24.

they received their most holy pastor as one who had been given back to them from the dead; and with tears they rendered thanks to the almighty God who had brought him back in safety, despite so many perils. Accordingly on that most sacred paschal sabbath the beloved father revisited his long-widowed spouse, and having entered Turestat[1] he kept watch during the sacred night, in the accustomed manner. In the early morning of the day of the Lord's Resurrection a dawn brighter than usual shone upon us, and double joy took possession of us illumined as it was both by the joy of the paschal feast and by the arrival of the holy Otto. For in the presence of all the clergy and people and of many persons of rank and of the revered fathers of other monasteries, the new apostle of our time, the gates of death amongst the barbarians having been destroyed, returned as a victor and entered his own church with great triumph and was received with the greatest fealty and devotion, whilst all wept for joy, and the paschal song "Thou who art greatly desired, hast come," was sung.

For in the case of all joy was closely intermingled with tears of regret, as is wont to be the case when loved ones are restored to life. The voices of all echoed forth Alleluia with indescribable sweetness and with so great a body of sound that it well-nigh stunned those who heard. For indeed it seemed to all as if they had received Christ risen from death. No one remained silent, but all with one consent sang and offered praise and thanksgiving to God. Everyone eagerly desired to behold his revered and hoary head and his angelic countenance, and all rejoiced to be allowed to kiss his feet, consecrated as they were by the gospel of peace. To them he declared[2] the word of God with his accustomed charm, whilst he expounded the great things wrought by Christ, and the conversion of

[1] Also written Tierstat and Twerstat.
[2] *eructuans*, lit. belching forth.

the Pomeranian race, and by the fire of love with which he himself burned he inflamed the feelings of all as he bade them ponder the divine grace. Thereafter, as he directed his thoughts towards the uncertain limits of human life, he dwelt constantly upon the verse from the book of Job, "I know not how long I shall continue and whether my Maker will soon take me away,"[1] and accordingly he hastened as far as possible to complete the building of monasteries and churches which he had already commenced. As a good father he strove also to increase the number of houses and hostels for Christ's poor, and to furnish them with such things as were necessary, lest, if anything were overlooked, he should afterwards have to regret that their value had been diminished. Whilst the good bishop laboured and sweated amidst his divine labours in these parts, the ancient Enemy languished with poisonous envy as he grieved over the loss of so many souls which had accrued to him in Pomerania, and strove to sow tares over the good seed. The two towns of Julin and Stettin apostatized at the instigation of the great Enemy, and abandoned the worship of the true God, and by observing again their idolatrous customs gave themselves over to destruction. How this came about and how, through God's grace, the harm done was marvellously repaired by the second apostleship of Otto, the third book will, by the Lord's permission, explain.

[1] Job xxxii. 22. Quoted from the Vulgate; the Hebrew text reads, "I know not to give flattering titles, else would my Maker soon take me away."

BOOK III

I. After careful meditation on the unwearied affection of our lord and father Bishop Otto, which led him to promote by his preaching the love and worship of Christ, not only in Teutonic lands but in the remote territories of the barbarians, it seemed to me that it would be wrong that his praiseworthy deeds should be enveloped in barren silence. Induced, therefore, by no spirit of presumption, but by affectionate love, I have endeavoured to commit to writing an account of his second apostleship in Pomerania, according as his faithful fellow-worker the presbyter Udalricus of St. Egidius has instructed me ; for an account of the first apostleship has been written elsewhere. Let him who desires read ; no one forces him who is unwilling, or disdainful, to read.

After our holy father Otto had come again in peace to his own place, on the completion of his first apostleship to the Pomeranian people, two of the best known towns, Julin and Stettin, moved by the envy of the devil, returned to their former sordid idolatry under the following circumstances. Julin, which had been founded by Julius Cæsar and called after him, and in which his spear was kept, fixed on a column of great size in order to preserve his memory,[1] was accustomed to hold a festival in honour of a certain idol at the beginning of the year, which was accompanied by dancing. When the town had been

[1] *Vita Prüf.* (II. 6) states that Otto offered fifty talents of silver for this lance in order to prevent the inhabitants from continuing to worship it.

cleansed by the word of faith and the washing of baptism, and the people, moved by the holy bishop, began to burn the larger and smaller idols that were in the open air, certain persons carried off secretly some small images adorned with gold and silver, little knowing how they were bringing about the destruction of their town, even as the unhappy Achan, when the city of Jericho was overthrown, stole a bar of gold weighing fifty shekels and a scarlet robe and two hundred shekels of silver, and as a result witnessed the punishment inflicted by the divine anger, and the loss that befel the Jewish people. For when the people of the province had assembled with their accustomed eagerness to celebrate the idol festival to which I have referred, and were playing and feasting together with great pomp, these men brought forth to the people, who had been weakened by their vain pleasures, the idols that they had before carried off, and invited them to resume their pagan rites.

By doing this they laid themselves open to divine reproof. For when all the people were engaged in playing and dancing in heathen fashion the fire of God suddenly fell from heaven upon the apostate town and the whole town began to burn with such great violence that no one was able to rescue any of his property, but the people, in their desire to save their own lives, escaped by swift flight and with difficulty the raging conflagration. When at length the town had been destroyed by the vehemence of the fire, the inhabitants on their return found that the church of St. Adalbert, which had been built by Otto his apostle, and the middle of which had been constructed by joining boards together in consequence of the lack of stones, had been preserved from the heat of the flames. Marvellous to relate, the sanctuary, which had been covered over in a cheaper manner, that is with reeds, and which had a linen cloth spread out

underneath in order to prevent worms from reaching the altar, had remained entirely untouched by the fire.

When the people beheld this great miracle they cried aloud and offered to God exultant praise, for they declared that beyond all doubt this was the true God, inasmuch as amidst this fierce fire, which had even injured the stones, He had been able to preserve uninjured the screen of reeds that had been spread over His own altar.

Accordingly the Christian priests were summoned, and the people openly repented and utterly abjured their idols, and having, as far as they were able, rebuilt their town, submitted with eager devotion to the yoke of Christ. Thus the divine reproof wrought salvation in their land.

Stettin, their most extensive town, which was larger than Julin, included three hills in its circuit. The middle one of these, which was also the highest, was dedicated to Triglav, the chief god of the pagans; its image had a triple head and its eyes and lips were covered with a golden diadem. The idol priests declared that their chief god had three heads because it had charge of three kingdoms, namely, heaven, earth and the lower regions, and that its face was covered with a diadem so that it might pretend not to see the faults of men, and might keep silence.

When this most powerful town had been brought to the knowledge of the true God by the good bishop, the idol temples were destroyed by fire and two churches were built, one on the Triglav hill in honour of St. Adalbert, and the other outside the walls of the town in honour of St. Peter.[1] Thereafter the churches of Christ appropriated the sacrifices which were before offered with great pomp and cost to the priests and the idol shrines. On this account

[1] According to the *Vita Prüf.* (II. 19) the second church was dedicated to the archangel Michael.

the idol priests were distressed and, when they saw that the benefits resulting from their former celebrations were decreasing, they sought for an opportunity to bring the people back to the worship of idols in order to secure their own gain. It happened, moreover, that a great mortality occurred in the town, and, when the priests were questioned by the people, they said that they had met with this calamity because they had put away their idols, and that all of them would die suddenly if they did not try to appease their ancient gods by sacrifices and the accustomed gifts. In consequence of this declaration a public assembly was forthwith held, the idol images were sought out and the profane, idolatrous observances and ceremonies were performed again by the people, and the middle portions of the Christian churches were destroyed. And when the people, in their madness, approached the sanctuary they did not dare to go farther, but thus addressed, with wild clamour the chief idol-priest, "Behold we have accomplished our part, it is for you, in virtue of your office, to attack and to profane the person[1] of the German God:" whereupon he seized an axe, but when he had brandished it aloft with his right hand, he suddenly stiffened and fell back and with a lamentable cry complained of pain. When the people ran to him and inquired its cause he groaned deeply and said, "Alas, how great is the power and the strength of the German God; who can resist Him? How have I been struck down who dared to touch His sacred dwelling." When the people asked with amazement what they should do, the priest said, "Build here a house for your god next to the dwelling of the German God, and worship Him and your gods alike, lest perchance in His anger He bring speedy and sudden destruction to this place."

They acted in accordance with his suggestion and

[1] lit. "the head and support," *caput et columen*.

continued in their error until the return of the holy apostle Otto.

II. Meanwhile the providence of God, who ever yearns to secure the conversion of those who are in error, failed not in His fatherly kindness to reprove them by the mouth of one of their most important citizens, a man named Witscacus,[1] who had been delivered in a marvellous manner from captivity and from the perils of the sea. What happened must not be passed over in silence, more especially as Christ deigned to work so manifest a miracle through the blessed apostle of the Pomeranians, albeit in his absence. Pomerania is the eastern district inhabited by barbarians which is situated towards the east and is bordered by the country of the Danes, the sea lying between the two. The sea that divides the two districts is so wide that anyone sailing in the midst of it even on the clearest day would hardly be able to see the two provinces, as they would seem like a tiny cloud. This man, who was a citizen of Stettin and was distinguished amongst his fellow-citizens on account of his rank and wealth, was accustomed to sail to the country of the Danes and to secure spoils therefrom. The Danes also made frequent piratical expeditions to Pomerania. At the time when, as we have said, his town had apostatized, its powerful citizen Witscacus had equipped six vessels and was engaged in attacking his enemies the Danes, when he fell into an unexpected ambuscade and was captured, together with all his companions. They were cruelly strangled, whilst he was cast into prison alone. His neck, his breast, his hands and his feet were bound with heavy chains by his enemies, who desired to secure gain by him. As he lay there closely confined, and expecting any moment to be dragged away to meet a cruel death, he began to recall the holy apostle by whom he had himself been received from Christ's

[1] Ebo spells the name Wirtschachus, Herbord writes Witscacus.

sacred font. With his face wet with a saving shower of tears he poured forth out of the depths of his heart this prayer to the Lord, "O Lord, omnipotent God, who hast allowed us to come to the knowledge of Thy Name by the mouth of Otto our holy father and bishop, have compassion, and succour me in this tribulation, for the merits of him who received me in my unworthiness from the sacred washing of new birth, so that, placed as I am in the shadow of so terrible a death, I may know if all that I heard from him concerning Thine exceeding holiness is true; absolved by Thy grace I will henceforth abandon these piratical attacks, and will cleave devotedly to Thy religion." When he had said this, being exhausted with sorrow and fasting, he fell asleep and beheld forthwith his beloved apostle, Otto, who stood before him, his head bound with an episcopal band, and struck his side as he slept, with his pastoral staff. Astonished and crying for very joy, he thus addressed the bishop with a tearful voice, "Holy father and servant of the living God, who has brought thee hither so unexpectedly at this hour?" He replied, "It is for your sake that I have come." The captive answered him, "How, my lord and father, shall I rise when my whole body is bound and fastened with chains?" The good father made the sign of the cross and raised him up, and forthwith his chains were loosened, by divine power, more quickly than can be described, and fell to the ground. And the Lord's servant said to him, "Christ, in whom thou hast believed, has absolved thee. When thou returnest to thine own land be mindful that thou act as an ambassador on my behalf to all thy fellow-citizens. They have committed a grievous offence against God inasmuch as they have neglected His worship and have not feared to pollute themselves with the filth of their former idolatry. Unless they speedily recover from their folly they will incur the manifold punish-

ment of divine wrath either here or in the future world." Having said this the bishop vanished from his sight. Witscacus then roused himself and went out and took the shortest route to the sea. He was still uncertain as to what he should do and his thoughts vacillated as he said to himself, "God has indeed absolved me in virtue of the merits of my blessed father, Otto, but how shall I, who possess no boat, traverse so wide a sea?" As he was thus meditating in the silence of the dark night, he saw before him, drawn up on the shore, but without an occupant, a little boat so small that it could only carry one experienced and practical seaman. He entered this at once and committed himself to the sea: and, fortified only by his faith, he kept saying to himself, "I would rather perish in the depth of the sea, if it must be so, than fall again into the bloody hands of my enemies, for if, which God forbid, they were to catch me on this shore, they would lacerate and mangle me with new and unheard-of tortures." As he went on board the little boat the Lord sent forth a mighty wind upon the sea which carried him at once, and without rowing, to the shore of Stettin. On reaching the dry land he poured forth with tears the thanks that were due to Almighty God and to his blessed father Otto. He was received with much joy and astonishment by his own fellow-citizens, to whom he gave a full account of his misfortune and of his seizure. As a witness to the miracle that had been accomplished they hung up the little boat in the gate of their city. Incited, however, by their wicked priests, they despised the message brought by their own good teacher, and continued in the same error until the bishop himself visited them a second time and recalled them into the way of truth. The manner in which this was accomplished will be made clear in the following narrative.

III. When God's chosen bishop heard that an

enemy had sown tares on top of the good seed, he would not suffer the people of Stettin to serve the Lord and idols and thus to halt between the two sides. Having sought the blessing of the apostolic Lord, Honorius, and that of his serene majesty Lotharius, he arranged to approach once more the territories of the barbarians, with the double object of bringing back to the bosom of the Church those that had apostatized and of subjecting to the yoke of the faith another people called Uznoim (Usedom) which had not yet heard the name of Christ. After making abundant provision for the needs of the journey, and having secured many ministers of the word and fellow-workers who were distinguished for their faith and industry, at the most holy Supper of the Lord which was held after the anointing oil had been prepared and the customary rites of the Mass had been performed, fasting and shod with sandals, as though he had stood at the altar, he set out on his preaching tour, even as it is written, "How beautiful are the feet of those who preach the gospel of peace and bring glad tidings of good things."[1]

As all his sons followed their beloved father, weeping and praying that success might attend him, he, being armed with faith and with the helmet of salvation, went forth to attack and to destroy the enemy's city. His first resting-place was in a building belonging to the Church of Bamberg which is called Growze. Here he and his companions carried out the command given by Christ Himself.[2] On the next day, after performing the ceremonies connected with the Lord's death, he turned aside to the ancient town called Kirchberg, where he spent in prayer and devotion the paschal Sabbath and the actual day of the Lord's resurrection. On the second day of the Easter festival

[1] Rom. x. 15.

[2] *i. e.* the washing of feet. The antiphon in the Roman Missal reads "Mandatum novum do nobis."

he reached the monastery of Regenheresthorf,[1] which he had recently built, and on the third day he dedicated it with all due ceremony in honour of St. John the Baptist, at the same time commending himself and his journey to St. John, who was his special patron. During the rest of Easter week he remained in the district belonging to the Churches of Schidingen[2] and Muchelen[3] and was employed in collecting the necessary provisions for his journey, after which he drew near to Magdeburg, the well-known capital of Saxony, where he was honourably received by his beloved archbishop Noribert.

But inasmuch as honourable reputation ever tends to beget jealousy (in others) this archbishop, who perceived that Otto had come from so great a distance for the sake of preaching the gospel, and who was compelled by a sense of shame because, though he was placed in a town belonging to pagan peoples, he had made no attempt to preach to them, being moved by envy desired to detain the good teacher for a time. Otto, however, being fervent in spirit, could not be enticed from the carrying out of his good design, and having sought the archbishop's blessing, set out the next day for the diocese of Habelberg,[4] which had at that time been so completely ruined by the incursions of the heathen that there remained in it hardly any who bore the Christian name. On the very day of his arrival flags were placed around the town, which was engaged in celebrating a festival in honour of an idol called Gerovit. When the man of God perceived this, he was pricked to the heart on account of the great delusion of its people and refused to enter the walls of the town, but waited in front of the gate and, having summoned Wirikind, the ruler of the place,

[1] *i. e.* Reinsdorf, to the south of Querfordia.
[2] *i. e.* Scheidungen, between Naumberg and Querfordia.
[3] *i. e.* Mucheln, south-west of Merseburg.
[4] *Vita Prüf.* (III. 4) states that Otto was prevented from preaching at all at Habelberg.

demanded of him why he permitted this idolatry to be practised. He protested that the people had rebelled against their Archbishop Noribert because he had tried to subject them to hard servitude, and confessed that they could not be compelled to accept teaching from him, but were prepared to die rather than submit to such a burdensome servitude. At the same time Wirikind besought the bishop that he would not refuse to explain to the people of the town their error, and said that they would listen much more eagerly to his advice than to the orders of the archbishop. Accordingly Otto stood on a lofty place in front of the gate and preached to all the people who had gathered together the saving word, and without difficulty persuaded them to abandon their sacrilegious festival. Meanwhile they declared that if they were placed under another archbishop they would of their own free will gladly receive baptismal grace.

With his accustomed generosity the holy preacher gave to Wirikind a large quantity of gold, and to his wife he gave a precious psalter, and he collected there the various things that he required for his journey, together with thirty waggons. He then began to inquire of Wirikind whether he would be prepared to provide an escort through his own district, as he had promised in the town of Merseburg in the presence of the renowned king Lotharius. He replied that he could not do so, as the bishop would shortly be traversing lands belonging to his enemies, for fear lest his servants should be seized and killed by these enemies.

IV. Then the good father, having invoked the mighty protection of God, started again on the journey which he had undertaken. There was there a wood of immense size. After five days spent in traversing it he came to a stagnant lake of great length where he obtained from a little man whom he

saw sitting in a small boat a great supply of fish. Marvellous to relate, although silver and other things were offered him, the man would receive nothing but salt. For he said that he had not tasted bread for seven years, but had supported a poor existence merely on fishes and the water of this pool. When this province had been captured by the Duke of Polonia, he had fled with his wife, having taken his axe and mattock, and had found a level place in the midst of this swamp where he had built a little house and had lived in safety, and during the summer time had accumulated a great multitude of dried fishes in order that he might have an abundance throughout the winter. It was to preserve these that he bought a large quantity of salt from the good preacher.

There was there a race of barbarians called Moriz. When they had heard what the blessed bishop had to tell them, they sought of their own accord to be initiated by him into the sacraments of the faith. But he, being a prudent and wise man, directed them to go to their chief bishop Noribert, as he told them that it was unlawful for him to build on another man's foundation, and that he had been summoned by the decree of the Pope and by the letter of Wortizlaus the Duke of Pomerania to go to more distant races. They, however, declared that they would not follow the Bishop of Magdeberg, inasmuch as he strove to inflict upon them a yoke of cruel servitude, but they promised that they would, with all humility, submit themselves to him, the pious servant of God, and would in all matters obey his commands. Seeing their devotion he replied very kindly that for the time being he would go to the races committed to his charge, but after the conversion of these to the faith, if they continued to desire it, with the authority and permission of the Pope and the approval of the archbishop Noribert he would readily pay them a visit.

V. When he came to the town of Timina[1] he found that great preparations for war had been made and that an incursion of the inhabitants of Leuticia had occurred. For the Leuticians, whose town together with its temple had been recently burnt by the renowned king Lotharius in his zeal for justice, were endeavouring to lay waste the town of Timina and to enslave its citizens. These were vigorously resisting and were seeking aid from the Duke Wortizlaus. The Duke had commanded our good father to await his arrival there, and for two days he waited for him, not without personal risk in view of the movements of the enemy's forces. On the very day of the bishop's arrival the citizens of Timina were holding a public assembly in front of the gate. The town was situated in a valley and, as the bishop was descending from the hills accompanied by his thirty waggons, all the people were frightened by the tumultuous noise and, thinking that the forces of their enemies were coming against them, they entered the town as quickly as possible and endeavoured to prepare themselves to resist. As the servant of God drew near they found no arms in his train, but instead the standard of the cross, and presently they recognized Otto, who was well known to them by report, and, running eagerly towards him, begged him to enter within the walls of their town. He, however, refused to enter a town which had been defiled by idolatry, and remained in tents set up in front of the gate. Meanwhile he summoned the chiefs of the people and with enticing words urged them to seek for the blessings of the Christian faith and of baptism. The ancient enemy, however, perceiving that the Lord's gain and his own loss would thereby accrue, did not suffer his envy of God's servant to remain concealed, but having created a certain ill-grounded fear, endeavoured to drive him forth from those

[1] Demmin.

parts. For on the following night the Duke of Pomerania came to the assistance of the people of Timina with two forces, one a naval force and the other composed of horsemen. The horsemen ought to have arrived first, but the wind brought the ship to land with the greater speed. The horsemen who came later, finding the allied force there, which it had expected to follow later, suspected that it had run into a hostile company, and was the more suspicious because black darkness had come on. There arose forthwith on both sides a confused clamour and an outrageous tumult. All the companions of the bishop were struck with terror and urged immediate flight, for Albwinus, the interpreter of the man of God, declared that a troop of the Leuticians had arrived and that they would mangle and slaughter the Duke's army. Our great teacher sent this Albwinus, who was a godly priest, with orders that he should proceed thither with all speed and investigate the truth of the matter. Being an accomplished swimmer he threw himself quickly into the stream and found that peace had been restored, as the two armies had each at length discovered that the other was composed of fellow-citizens. They said that it was by a satanic illusion that they had been hindered from doing so before. The Duke Wortizlaus protested his incredible joy at the arrival of the good pastor and commanded him to come to him on the further bank of the river without delay. He said that it was nothing short of a divine miracle that he had remained uninjured for two days amongst the constantly moving forces of the enemy. In very truth had he not been covered by the mighty protection of God as by an invincible shield, he would have perished undefended, together with all his companions. As soon as the light returned the Duke, with his armies, invaded the territories of the rebellious Leuticians and laid waste everything with fire and sword. Towards evening he

returned laden with many spoils, and conducted his beloved father Otto, with all due reverence, to Uznoim (Usedom), where he had a quiet interval in which to rest and preach.

[H. I. When four[1] years had elapsed, Otto, though he was still occupied with much business at home, burned with so great a love for his new colony that he put aside everything else and began to arrange to revisit it. In order that he might not prove burdensome to those through whose territories he had formerly passed, namely, the Duke of Bohemia,[2] or the Duke of Polonia, or his other hosts and friends, he arranged to make his journey through Saxony. He laded his ships with provisions at Halla and descended by the River Alba to Habala, going as far as the shores of Leuticia. In order that he might not, by coming empty-handed and without resources, appear to his spouse to be of little value, and for fear lest, if the gospel which he had before brought without cost to its hearers, were now to prove a burden to them, those who were already prepared to believe should murmur against him, he endeavoured to approach them as a rich man with a large amount of gold and silver, with purple and linen and precious garments and many and great presents such as would appeal to many different persons. All these he bought at Halla and carried by ship to Leuticia, where he placed them in fifty chariots and four horse waggons together with a supply of provisions, and transported them through the country of Leuticia to Timina, a town in Pomerania. When we arrived there after considerable labour and fatigue we endured during the following night much fear and alarm. For the inhabitants of that town, being as yet ignorant

[1] This should be three years.

[2] The Duke Wadislaus had died on April 12, 1125, and Sobieslaus had now become Duke.

of God, were fierce and ill disposed to Christians, and we had come as strangers to strangers. In our former journey we had known only the prefect of the town and had communicated with him in regard to the question of our reception. He received us in a friendly manner and said that he would treat the others as his guests, and at the same time he pointed out an open space for us to occupy in an old castle near the town. Here we fixed our tents in the hope that we should be left quiet, but throughout the whole of that night we were disturbed by vain alarms.

II. For the Duke of Pomerania was coming that very night with an army to devastate Leuticia. Moreover the inhabitants of Timina had heard that the Leuticians were about to meet him there in battle, and as a result there was no small alarm in the town. As the silence of night came on, the squadrons of the Duke's army converged on this place, and it came about that one cohort of foot soldiers and one of cavalry were approaching the town from opposite sides, and as the night was dark each thought that the other force was an enemy and for a long time they remained with swords drawn. We, being terrified by the clamour and noise of their arms, poured water upon our camp fires and meditated flight. Meanwhile they had recognised each other as friends and had desisted from fighting. The prefect sent a messenger and explained to us the cause of the tumult and begged us not to be alarmed. In the morning the Duke, who was hastening with his whole army to secure the spoil, was not able to see the bishop, but he sent messengers to urge him to await him there that day. About midday we saw that Leuticia was smoking in all directions. This showed that the army was engaged in spreading universal destruction. Towards evening the Duke, who had accomplished his desire, returned, laden with much spoil, joyful and unharmed together with all his

attendants. They divided the spoils whilst we were looking on, clothes, money, flocks and other articles of various kinds. They also distributed amongst themselves the men whom they had captured. There was weeping and lamentation and infinite grief when, in accordance with the method adopted for dividing them, a husband was separated from a wife and a wife from a husband, children from parents and parents from children, and were assigned to different masters. Although all who were involved in this grief were pagans, the bishop, who was ever good and compassionate, pitied their condition and could not refrain from tears. The Duke, who was delighted with the success that he had obtained and with the arrival of the bishop, when he perceived what was his desire, gave order that some of the younger and weaker prisoners should be freed, and at the bishop's suggestion he arranged that those who were grieved at being separated should remain together. And when he had heard the bishop he did many things and heard him gladly.[1]

The bishop also ransomed many of the prisoners and, having seen that they were instructed and born again by baptism, he sent them away free. When then they had refreshed themselves by mutual conversation and had presented gifts to each other, the Duke departed to see to his own affairs. Meanwhile we placed all our property on board the ships of Timina and sailed on the River Pene for three days till we came to Uznoim, the bishop going overland on foot with a few companions.

Without delay he proceeded to cut his Lord's field with the ploughshare and to scatter the seed of faith; nor did he meet with any difficulty in his task, inasmuch as the teaching of salvation had already fallen like a refreshing shower upon that town, for the priests whom the good father had sent amongst this people

[1] Cf. St. Mark vi. 20.

to represent him had converted a great part of Uznoimia, and the remaining part was brought to the Lord by the bishop.]

VI. The Duke then appointed a general conference of the leading men in his kingdom to be held in the same place on the festival of Pentecost. When the chief men of the town of Timina and of the other towns were come together he urged them with words of wisdom to take upon themselves the yoke of the Christian faith.

He had himself in his youth been carried away as a captive to Teutonic lands and had received baptismal grace in the town of Merseburg, but whilst living amongst pagans he had not been able to observe the Christian law. Accordingly he greatly desired that the nation over which he ruled should be subjected to the yoke of the faith. When the chiefs were assembled in council the Duke spoke as follows: "Ye see, my friends, how this blessed father, who is also to be venerated on account of his grey hairs, has left behind all the glory and splendour which he possessed amongst his own people in order to promote our salvation. At the peril of his life he has come from afar to districts that were unknown to him. In his love to God he has spared neither expense nor his own grey hairs, but has jeoparded his life unto death in order that he might recall you from death to life; nor did he hesitate to undertake this arduous and most difficult journey. In earlier times many have come to these parts to proclaim the word of God, whom, prompted by Satan, ye have killed. One of these ye but recently crucified, but his bones were committed to the grave with due reverence after they had been collected by the chaplains of our lord the bishop. Ye ought not and cannot thus treat this most venerable lord bishop whose fame is everywhere spread abroad, for he is

the messenger of the Pope and is beloved of our lord the invincible king, Lotharius. For the ruler of the Roman Empire and all the chief men venerate him as a father and are content to follow his advice in all things. Ye may know therefore beyond all doubt that, if he suffer at your hands any trouble or distress, our lord the king will hear of it and will speedily come with an army and will blot you and your land out of existence. It is not for me to compel you to adopt this religion, for, as I have heard my lord the bishop say, 'God does not desire forced but voluntary service.' Wherefore, having met together with unanimous purpose in secret, discuss the question of your salvation and arrive at a common decision as to how ye will receive this most venerable servant of God, who is your apostle." When they heard this the chiefs and elders sought for a convenient place in which to debate the matter, and for a long time they vacillated and were uncertain in their minds, the idol priests in particular offering opposition in order to secure their own gain.

But those who inclined to more prudent counsels urged that when all the provinces belonging to the surrounding nations and the whole Roman world had submitted to the yoke of the faith, it would be the height of folly for them to be estranged, as an abortive offspring, from the womb of their sacred mother, the Church. They urged too that the God of the Christians deserved to be loved inasmuch as He had, during so many years, borne with their rebelliousness and had patiently waited for their conversion, and that they should fear lest, if they refused any longer to accept His yoke, they should incur the unbearable punishment of divine wrath. At length, being assisted by Divine mercy, they with one accord abandoned the worship of idols and, having submitted to the yoke of the faith, began to ask for baptismal grace. On hearing this the good

pastor wept for joy and, kneeling down, he gave great thanks to God.

[H. III. When the festival of the coming of the Holy Spirit[1] drew near, Wortizlaus the Duke of the country, who was a wholehearted Christian, at the suggestion of Otto proclaimed to the barons and captains of the whole province and to the prefects of the towns that an assembly would be held in this town at the feast of Pentecost. He gave as a reason (the consideration of) the Gospel of Christ and the fact that bishop Otto had come a second time as an evangelist. When all had assembled on the appointed day the Duke brought the bishop into their midst and said, "Behold now the purpose for which ye have come here. The messenger of the Most High is in your presence. He brings not war but peace, nor does he seek your possessions but you yourselves for God. Listen then, I pray you. Four years ago, as I myself can bear witness and you yourselves know, the bishop taught and preached everywhere in the upper parts of this country. He desired at that time to visit these parts, but God so prospered his work that for the whole of that year he was kept busy by his sacred work, and when the year was ended he was forced by the conditions of his affairs at home to return to his own place, and was unable to come to you. I beg you to note carefully with me the reasons for this journey and, as in every such case is wont to be done, let us have regard to the actor, the action, the cause and the method. First of all as regards the man himself, ye see clearly that he is a pious man who claims respect on account of his age and his appearance. As to his rank in life his deeds and virtues bear testimony, as well as his ancient line of ancestors and forefathers, as we have learned on good authority. If, furthermore, we desire the dignity

[1] Pentecost, May 22.

belonging to official position, as a bishop he serves as a mirror and lamp to all the chiefs throughout the Teutonic realm. By the Roman Emperor and by the bishop of the apostolic see he is regarded as dear and beloved; we know that at home he is a rich man and held in repute in respect of his gold and silver, his attendants and subjects, his fields and possessions and whatever this world calls precious. He has come hither as a rich man in order to promote your salvation, nor does he propose to live amongst you save at his own expense. What task does he propose? Why, after essaying so great a journey, does he not spare either himself or his own possessions? To speak briefly, I say as I have said before, he seeks only to separate you from the devil and to unite you by the catholic faith to the Lord Jesus Christ. But how would he do this? Not by guile or violence, and not for the sake of any earthly gain, but for the sake of your own salvation and the honour of God. No just reason in fact can be discovered by you why you should not listen to such a man as this. Nor is he a man who might be threatened with death or with a gibbet, or with any other injury, for fraud or imposture. It was in this manner, that a short time ago ye treated Christ's poor preachers who came from foreign lands, because ye suspected that these needy and impoverished men were preaching the word of God fraudulently and deceitfully for the sake of gain. These men who for the truth's sake were subjected to blows and to scourging have left your country and ye have continued up to the present in unbelief. Your long-continued error and ignorance should be to you a matter of shame and regret; you who have refused to listen to preachers who were poor should listen now to those who are rich. For ye have mockingly and blasphemously declared that the God of the Christians is inferior, and of less value than all other gods

because He could only secure as teachers of His doctrine ignorant and uncultured men who were encompassed with indigence and poverty. You were indeed mad when you spake this, but God, who is holy and compassionate and incapable of malice, has borne with your folly and has taken from you the opportunity of objecting to the inexperience, the rusticity, the indigence, or the poverty of His messenger. It is for us who are reputed to be, and are, the chiefs and elders to consult our own dignity and to give our consent in a worthy and pious manner so that the people who are subject to us may be taught by our example. For whatever sanctity or integrity in the sight of God or man is to be sought after, I think that it is more right and comely that it should pass from the head to the members than from the members to the head. In the primitive Church, as we have heard, the Christian religion began with the people and with common persons and spread to the middle classes and at length affected the great chiefs of the world. Let us change the order of the primitive Church and let it begin with us who are the chiefs and, passing on from us to the middle classes by an easy progress, let the sanctifying influence of the divine religion enlighten the whole people and nation." But why do I delay? The grace of the divine Spirit was present and was implanted in the hearts of all present, through the words of the Duke, more deeply than can be described, and all with one consent and approval promised that whatever the bishop should recommend should be done. The bishop on this occasion addressed to them a marvellous discourse and spoke of the coming of the Holy Spirit, the remission of sins, the various gifts of grace, the goodness of God and divine mercy, and preached unto them Jesus. Some who had formerly been Christians, but had been defiled afresh by the errors of heathenism, were led by his discourse to

feel remorse and their hearts were softened by deep contrition. These, to the great delight of the onlookers, the bishop reconciled to the Church by the laying on of hands. Others who eagerly offered themselves were taught and briefly instructed for the time being and were baptized by him. With exceeding joy he devoted the whole of that week to teaching and sacred toils, whereby it became evident that the Holy Spirit was there present. The council was not dissolved until the chiefs themselves and all who had come with them had received the sacrament of baptism.]

VII. When then, after a short time had elapsed, all the chiefs in this town had been baptized, the bishop sent out the priests associated with him two and two to the other towns that lay before him, in order that they might announce to the people the conversion of the chiefs and his own approach. Two of these, namely Udalricus the holy priest of St. Egidius and Albwinus, who has been referred to before, the interpreter of the man of God, went to a very wealthy town called Hologost.[1] They were honourably received there by a matron, the wife of the prefect of the town, who washed their feet with the utmost devotion and humility and having placed a table before them refreshed them with lavish feasts, so that they marvelled and were amazed because in the kingdom of the devil they had met with so much humility and hospitality. When at length their refreshment was completed, Albwinus addressed privately the matron and explained to her the reason for his coming, and told her how at the conference that had been held at Uznoim all the chief men had abandoned the defilement of idolatry and had been clothed with the grace of Christ. When she heard this she was so frightened that she fell flat on the

[1] *i. e.* Wolgast.

ground and remained for some time half dead. When she had been revived with water Albwinus asked why she so dreaded the grace of God, when she ought the rather to rejoice that God had visited His people by sending to them so good a minister of the Word. She answered, "It was not for this reason that I shuddered, but my heart was distressed at the prospect of your death which is now imminent. For the magistrates and all the people of this town have decreed that if you should appear here you should be killed without hesitation. This house of mine, which was ever quiet and peaceful and showed hospitality to all strangers who came, must now be defiled with your blood. In very truth, if one of the magistrates hears of your coming, my house will presently be surrounded and besieged, and, alas, unless I deliver you up, I and all those with me will be burnt. Go then to the upper part of my house and hide, and I will send my servants with your equipment and horses to my farms which lie at a distance, and if any come to inquire I shall be able to shield you, as they will not find with me either your garments or your horses." They expressed their gratitude for her forethought and did as they were instructed. As soon as the servants had taken away their horses and their garments the enraged people burst in and searched everything and demanded with violence that the strangers who had entered should be put to death. To them the matron said, "I admit that they entered my house, and when they had sufficiently refreshed themselves they departed with all speed. I cannot tell you who they were, or whence they came, or whither they were going. Follow them and perchance you may catch them." They replied, "If they have gone it is useless for us to follow them, but let them go their way, and if they appear here again, let them know that they will inevitably meet with their death." Thus, in accordance with the will of God, the search

for them ceased and God's servants Udalricus and Albwinus hid on the roof of this matron, who was as it were a second Rahab.

VIII. A certain idol priest was responsible for this search and tumult. When he heard the opinions expressed in regard to the new preaching, he adopted a crafty method of argument. Arraying himself in a robe taken from an idol shrine, and in some other spoils, he left the town secretly and made for a neighbouring wood where he terrified a peasant who was passing by by confronting him unexpectedly. When the peasant saw him arrayed in the vesture belonging to the idol he imagined that his chief god had suddenly appeared to him, and falling on his face, half dead with fright, he heard him say, "I am the god whom thou worshippest, be not afraid, but rise up quickly and go into the town and deliver my message to the magistrates and to all the people, and say that if they declare themselves disciples of that seducer who is staying with the Duke Wortizlaus at Uznoim, they shall speedily be delivered over to a most cruel death; moreover the town and its inhabitants shall perish." When the peasant had announced this with all speed to the citizens, they were united as one man in their endeavour to carry out the commands of their god.

[H. IV. The report of what had been done soon spread throughout the whole province and divided asunder houses and villages; some persons declaring that it was good while others said that it was not good, but that their leaders had been led astray. The idol priests were a chief cause of the divisions that occurred, for they were distressed at what had been done, and realized that their own gains would cease if the worship of demons were to be abolished there. They tried therefore by every possible means to obstruct, and by means of visions, dreams, prodigies

and various portents invented ingenious arguments.

A priest who served the idol in the town of Hologost, which—it was announced—the bishop proposed to visit next, entered a neighbouring wood at night and in a raised place alongside the path stood amongst dense foliage arrayed in his priestly garments, and in the very early morning he thus addressed a peasant who was going from the country to the market, "Alas, good man!" The peasant, who looked towards the spot from which he had heard the voice, seemed to see in the thicket in the uncertain light someone dressed in white, and was afraid. The priest then said, "Stand and hear what I say: I am your god, I, who clothe the plains with grass and the woods with foliage, the produce of the fields and the trees, the offspring of the flocks and everything that is of use to man are in my power. I give these to my worshippers and take them from those who despise me. Tell then the inhabitants of the town of Hologost that they accept no foreign god who cannot help them, and that they suffer not to live the messengers of another religion who, I predict, will come to them." When the demon who had made himself visible had spoken thus to the astonished peasant, the impostor withdrew to the denser parts of the wood. The peasant, stupefied as though he had heard the voice of a god, fell prone upon the ground and worshipped. He then went into the town and proceeded to tell what he had seen. Why say more? The people believed him, and moved by the novelty of the portent, they surrounded him time after time and compelled him to keep on repeating the same story. Finally the priest, who seemed as though he were entirely ignorant, arrived and at first pretended to be indignant with him for telling a lie; he then began to listen attentively and to urge him to speak only that

which was true, and not to try to influence the people by inventing what was untrue. He, as became a simple peasant, stretched forth his hands, lifted his eyes to heaven, and even promised that he would point out the very place in which the vision had appeared. Then the priest turned to the people and with a deceptive sigh exclaimed, "This is what I have been saying for a whole year. What have we to do with a foreign god? What have we to do with the religion of the Christians? Our god is rightly disturbed and angered if, after all the benefits he has conferred, we turn in our folly and ingratitude to another god. But, lest he be angry with us and kill us, let us be angry with and kill those who are come hither to lead us astray." His speech pleased them all and they definitely decided that if Bishop Otto or any of his companions should enter the town he should forthwith be killed. They came also to the wicked resolve that if anyone should receive them into his house in case they entered by night or secretly, he should be liable to a similar sentence. In arranging this they used many insulting words and blasphemously derided our religion.]

But, as we have already said, Divine providence helped to conceal its servants until on the following day Bishop Otto came, accompanied by the Duke, and brought them forth from their hiding-place. But even on the very day on which the bishop came there occurred an attack upon God's servants which was brought about through the envy of the devil. For when the day was drawing towards evening some of the bishop's companions, who wanted to examine a shrine that existed in this town, proceeded to do so without due caution; whereupon some of the citizens, who thought that they wished to commit the shrine to the flames, assembled together and advanced to meet them with passionate gestures and a discordant clatter

of arms. Then the good priest Udalricus turned to his companions and said, "It is not without reason that these have assembled, but be assured that they are indeed bent on our destruction." When his companions heard this they went back and sought refuge in flight. But one of them named Dietricus, who was in advance of them and had already approached the doors of the temple, not knowing where to turn, boldly entered the shrine itself and, seeing a golden shield fastened to the wall which had been dedicated to Gerovit their god of war, and which they considered it unlawful to touch, he seized the shield and went forth to meet them. They, like ignorant peasants, thought that their god Gerovit was advancing to meet them, and retired stupefied with amazement and fell to the ground. When Dietricus perceived their folly he threw away the shield and fled, thanking God that He had thought fit to deliver His servants out of their hands.

[H. VI. On entering the town (of Hologost) the bishop received the faithful and strenuous support of the Duke and, having scattered the seed of the gospel, was able to soften little by little the hard hearts of the unbelievers by the soothing ointment of his preaching. Meanwhile some of our companions made fun of Udalricus and Albwinus, who had emerged from their hiding-place, and joining us had related the events which had caused them fear. And, as though to display their contempt for them, they began to show themselves bold, and, leaving their companions, as the bishop prolonged his discourse, they wandered into an idol temple. Certain ill-disposed men in whose hearts idolatry still flourished, said, "Behold, these men are examining how they may burn our temples." They gathered together then in an open place carrying arms and clubs and

blocked the way by which we appeared likely to come out. Udalricus, who stood and watched them from a distance, said, "Do you not see that it is for some purpose that these have assembled? For they are behaving riotously and they are all armed." Then recalling his former danger, he said, "I would not tempt my God so often." Turning round then he began to return to the place where he had left the bishop; the others followed him with the exception of a certain priest named Theoderic who had advanced some distance in front of them, and was already touching the doors of the temple. The pagans, who had assembled, when they saw that they had come back from the path on which they had started, did not dare to follow them, but rushed, all of them, to kill the priest. When he saw this, having no way by which he might turn from them, notwithstanding his terror he entered the temple itself. There was there hanging on the wall a shield of great size and of marvellous workmanship, covered with sheets of gold, which no human being might touch, because there was in it something sacroscant and which betokened their pagan religion, so that it would never be moved out of its place save only in time of war. For, as we afterwards found, it was dedicated to their god Gerovit, who in Latin is called Mars, and the people were confident of success in every battle in which it went before them. The priest, who was a man of keen intelligence, as he fled hither and thither in the temple in fear of death, looking for a weapon, or a place in which to hide, seized the shield, and laying the thong on his neck and with his left hand passed through the straps, rushed from the door into the midst of the raging crowd. When the peasants beheld his strange armour some turned to flee, while others fell on the ground, as though they had been dead. He threw away the shield and began to run towards the guest house to join his companions, and

"fear gave wings to his feet." When, gasping and pallid, he reached his own people the whole night was spent in the presence of all, and specially of the bishop and the Duke, in the pleasant task of telling of his fright and that of those who had been sent, and had been hidden for three days. Nevertheless the good father admonished his sons and disciples to act with caution in view of the stratagems of the secret Enemy. He continued in this place disputing and persuading concerning the kingdom of God, until all the people had received the sacraments of the faith and had destroyed their temples and prepared the sanctuary of a church with an altar. When the bishop had consecrated this sanctuary he ordained John as their priest and exhorted them to go on with the building of the remainder of the church after he should have left them.[1]

IX. The Apostle of Pomerania, after spending the following week in spreading the knowledge of the faith and in handing on baptismal grace in this town, appointed over its inhabitants the devout priest John. He then made for another town called Chozegow,[2] which contained temples of great beauty and marvellous design, in the building of which the citizens of this town had spent three hundred talents. They offered our blessed father a very large sum of money if he would refrain from destroying them and would keep them whole and uninjured as an ornament to the place. This the man of God altogether refused to do, as he declared that he could by no means agree to preserve these sacrilegious buildings which after his departure would give rise to apostasy and be the cause of ruin to those who were weak. He said that he would not become responsible in the sight of God for this offence.

[1] Cf. Virgil, *Æn.* viii. 244, "pedibus timor addidit alas."
[2] Gützko v.

[H. VII. He then bade good-bye to all the people (at Hologost), and having with much affection committed them to Almighty God, he turned towards Gozgaugia. In this town was a temple of great size and beauty. When the bishop spoke to its inhabitants concerning the Christian faith through an interpreter—for the Duke had already left him on his own business—they declared that they were prepared for anything if only their temple might remain intact, for it had been recently built at great expense, and they were very proud of it because it appeared to be an ornament to the whole town. They made attempts secretly and sent some men to try to soften the disposition of the bishop by gifts in the hope that the building might be preserved. Finally they asked that it might be altered and used as a church. But the bishop consistently maintained that it was unfitting that a building that had been erected and called by the name of a demon, and that had been profaned by indecent rites, should be transferred to the service of God: "For what concord has Christ with Belial?"[1] or "what hath the temple of God in common with an idol temple?"[2] He spake also a parable unto them, "Do you sow your wheat on top of brambles and thorns? I think not. If then you root up the thorns and thistles from your fields in order that, when good seed has been sown, they may bring forth the wished-for crops, so is it right that this root of idolatry be utterly destroyed from among you in order that from the good seed of the gospel your hearts may bear fruit unto eternal life." With these and other similar words, he continued day after day, in season and out of season, to entreat, denounce and accuse,[3] till at length he so far influenced the minds of the pagans that they themselves with their own hands demolished the images and broke

[1] 2 Cor. vi. 15. [2] 2 Cor. vi. 16. [3] Cf. 2 Tim. iv. 2.

up this accursed building, concerning which the discussion had arisen.]

His preaching gained great weight from the fact that, although the Lord had ordained that those who preach the gospel should live of the gospel,[1] he did not make use of this power which belonged to him as an apostle, but maintained both himself and his companions at his own cost. He had arranged with his fatherly forethought that money obtained from the farms belonging to his bishopric should be sent to him by trusty messengers, so that he might deprive those who were envious of him of any excuse for criticism, and might prevent them from supposing that his poverty had induced him to come to these remote regions, or from thinking that in consequence of a lack of food in his own country he had retired to this rich territory in order that, whilst pretending to preach the gospel, he might secure abundant nourishment. Endowed as he was with great wisdom, he understood the possibility of this misunderstanding, and he never consented to receive carnal things from those amongst whom he was sowing spiritual things, nor did he ever consent to receive from them anything in the nature of a present. If, however, anything was voluntarily offered by the chief men who were most closely associated with him, and he were entreated and constrained to accept it, he would offer in an honourable manner some treasure of his own and gave more than he received, following the example of Solomon, who, when the Queen of Sheba offered many different gifts, gave her far more than he received from her. For this reason the good father was willingly listened to by all, because they saw that he had an abundance of earthly treasures and that it was only the love of Christ and no desire

[1] 2 Cor. ix. 14.

for gain that induced him to undertake the task of preaching the gospel.

X. At the very time that he was destroying these shrines of marvellous workmanship in the town of Chozegow[1] certain honourable messengers from Duke Adalbert arrived, who carefully examined his condition, and at the same time there came messengers from his own farms at Mücheln and Schidingen, who brought him the supplies that had been promised. When they perceived the grace of God and saw that the Church there was growing and becoming strong they were filled with great joy and with the consolation of the Holy Spirit. And indeed it was a joyous sight when images of great size and marvellously sculptured, covered too with most beautiful designs, which many yoke of oxen could hardly move, had their hands and feet cut off, their eyes dug out and their nostrils mutilated, and were drawn down to a certain bridge to be burnt with fire, while the supporters of the idols stood by and with loud ejaculations exclaimed that help should be given to their gods and that the wicked subverters of their country should be cast down from the bridge and drowned. Others who were of wise counsel protested that if these were indeed gods they should be able to defend themselves; inasmuch as they kept silence and could not even move out of their place except when drawn, it was clear that they altogether lacked feeling and actual life. The idol priests, however, endeavoured to stir up discord in order to secure their own gain. For, as we read in the prophet Daniel,[2] dishes of food and drink of every kind and in great abundance were placed in front of these large projecting images, all of which the priests and their friends declared were consumed by the gods, though they had themselves secretly entered and taken them away.

[1] *i. e.* Gützkow.

[2] Dan. i. 5; v. 4.

XI. But we must not omit to relate the miracle which was manifested while these shrines were being destroyed. For, all of a sudden, whilst many people were standing by, flies of unusual size, such as were never before seen in that land, rushed from the ruins of the idols in such vast numbers that they darkened the whole of the district round the city and seemed to obscure the daylight by a hideous darkness, and, as by their fierce onslaught they distressed the eyes and lips of all, they caused to those who saw them no small horror. When, however, they were driven away by violent slaps of the hand, they kept coming on with no less insistence, till at length as the believers sung aloud the praises of God and carried round the standard of the Cross, a detestable monster fled out of the open doors and with utmost speed made for the country of the barbarians who are called Ruthenians.[1] In the opinion of all who were wise this portent clearly presaged the expulsion of the devils, of which Beelzebub, that is the man of flies, was chief, for these devils could not endure the grace of Christ which was brought by these new teachers, and when they were denied any resting-place in these parts, they went to the Ruthenians who were still ensnared in pagan error.

XII.[2] When then the idol shrine had been destroyed and the people had been gathered into the bosom of Mother Church by the washing of regeneration, the holy preacher began to build a new church for Christ. There came to its dedication the chief of this place called Mizlaus, who, at the conference that was held at Pentecost in Uznoim, had with other chiefs received the grace of baptism, and to them the good bishop spoke through his interpreter Adalbert, who

[1] *i. e.* the inhabitants of the island Rugia.

[2] The whole of this chapter occurs in almost the same words in Herbordus (III. 9).

afterwards became a bishop. "My beloved son whom I have begotten to Christ our Lord through the gospel, this exterior dedication signifies the interior dedication of thy heart, which is about to take place. For thou art a temple of God in which Christ deigns to dwell by faith,[1] and if thou wilt adorn thy heart's dwelling-place so that it may be a dwelling pleasing to God who visits it, I will with spiritual joy carry through this exterior dedication."

Touched by these words of his blessed father and apostle he replied with tearful voice, "What, holy father, wouldst thou have me do in order that God may condescend to visit my breast?" He answered, "This is what I advise, namely that thou shouldst examine the secrets of thy conscience, and if thou hast taken anything by violence from anyone, that thou make fitting restoration, and, if thou hast brought into captivity any for the sake of gain, that thou shouldst set them free for the honour of God." The questioner replied, "I have done violence to no one, but I have in my possession many captives who are under great obligations to me." The man of God answered, "Inquire whether any of them are Christians." When he had inquired he found that many who came from the country of the Danes were Christians. These he placed, at once, before our blessed father, after he had completely absolved them from their debts. Whereupon the servant of God expressed his joy and said, "As thou hast begun, complete an offering pleasing to the Lord and set free also the pagans who are held in captivity in order that they may the more readily submit themselves to the yoke of the faith." He replied, "These are guilty of many offences and have inflicted on me unbearable injuries, but, lest the joy of this dedication should be clouded by any sorrow, I will that they be set free in accordance with thy saying, beloved father."

[1] 2 Cor. vi. 16.

When he heard this the holy teacher gave thanks, mingled with tears, and said, "Now shall this dedication be acceptable to God, forasmuch as by this work of piety thou hast dedicated unto the Lord the guest-chamber of thy heart to become his habitation." When he had said this he commenced the solemn rites of the dedication of the church. It happened, by the will of God, that there was a lack of ashes,[1] for although the ministers declared that they had placed ashes around the altar on the previous day, marvellous to relate, no sign of the scattering of ashes could anywhere be found. Then the good priest Udalricus, moved by the Spirit of God, went quickly to a tiny dwelling-place underground in order to collect ashes. On hearing his approach a captive who was there concealed groaned and uttered his voice and stretched out a hand from the cell. Udalricus, the servant of God, was astonished and, as he drew near to see what this meant, he beheld a young man in a miserable plight with his neck, his breast and his feet chained. When an interpreter had been summoned, he heard the captive say, "Have pity on me, O servant of God, and put forth thy hand in order that thou mayest lead me forth from the heavy yoke of this captivity. For I am the son of a noble Danish chief, and the Duke Mizlaus, on account of five hundred marks that my father owes him, keeps me shut up here." When he heard this Udalricus returned in haste to the bishop and said to him privately, "It was not without cause that there occurred this hindrance to our service of dedication, for while I was gone to collect ashes I found, by the help of God, a son of a Danish chief closely shut up,

[1] The office for the dedication of a church in the Roman Pontifical reads, "Meanwhile one of the ministers scatters ashes on the pavement in the form of a cross;" and later on, "Then the bishop receives the salt and mixes it with ashes . . . and taking a handful of the mixture of salt and ashes he dips it thrice into water . . . and then puts wine into the water."

and this dedication cannot be made valid unless he is set free with the others." The bishop replied, "We have already taken so much upon us that I cannot venture to ask of him anything more, for even in Teutonic lands, no chief would readily do this. But, if you will, arrange a secret meeting with him, and perchance he will agree to what you ask, though the matter is a serious one." Accordingly Udalricus took Adalbert his interpreter and led Mizlaus out of the crowd, and after saluting him with the words of Christ's peace, asked him if all his captives had been set free. When he replied "Yes," Adalbert the interpreter said, "Why didst thou try to deceive Christ, who cannot be deceived? Why dost thou distress his apostle by denials and dissimulation? By thy dissimulation thou hast placed an obstacle in the way of the dedication of the church. It was by God's command that the ashes that were placed here yesterday have disappeared to-day. While Udalricus, the monk, who is dearly beloved by my lord, had gone, not by chance, but by divine interposition, to seek for ashes, he discovered thy captive whom thou wouldst have hidden from God, to whom all things are open." The chief, when he heard this, was dumbfounded. "This captive," said he, "is hateful to me above all the others. I beg, therefore, that his case should not be made public, but that he should be kept, as he deserves, in the dwelling-place underground." To him, Udalricus, the servant of God, replied, "Let it not be that, by this one act of cruelty, the great deeds of piety which you have shown towards God, and for which you are admired and honoured by my master the bishop, should perish. But know in very truth that this most sacred and joyful dedication can in no wise be completed unless you set him free with the rest and thereby offer to the Lord an acceptable sacrifice." He answered,

"What then will become of the five hundred talents of silver which are due to be paid by his father for the unspeakable injury that he has done unto me?" The servant of God replied, "Be not overmuch distressed on this account, the Lord has treasure wherewith He can pay thee back a hundredfold." Then at length the chief Mizlaus, overcome by the help of God's grace, was dissolved in tears, and with deep sighs and lamentations, said, "I call God to witness that, if I were to give my body to be martyred for His name, I could not perform a greater deed, or one which weighs more heavily upon me, than what I now do with extreme reluctance, for the honour of God Almighty, and for love of my lord bishop, namely, when I set free this man who owes me so great a debt and whom I had determined should on no account be released." He forthwith sent soldiers and had him brought forth out of the dark prison, and, placing him with his hands bound upon the altar that was to be consecrated, he offered him as a sweet-smelling offering to the Lord. He soon gave orders that his chains should be loosed, whilst all who were present wept for joy and blessed God for his so great devotion. Then at length the venerable bishop of Christ carried to a happier and more assiduous completion the service of dedication which he had begun.

XIII.[1] The ancient enemy of our race, however, did not with tranquil eyes behold these happy events, and, inasmuch as many vessels of captivity had been snatched from his grasp by the blessed bishop, he endeavoured by every means within his power to disturb the seeds of Christianity that had been sown by tares of discord and external wars. For the Duke of the Polonians, who was called Bolezlav, before the coming of our father Otto had been greatly offended by the people of Pomerania and had announced the coming of a strong force. This people, who had but

[1] Nearly all the contents of this chapter appear in Herbordus (III. 10).

recently been initiated into the sacraments of the faith, was not a little frightened by this announcement, and their chiefs and elders hastened to their apostle as constituting their safest refuge and eagerly begged for his advice. They said, "Thou, our lord and father, hast promised to us, in the word of God, liberty and secure peace, if we submitted to the Christian faith. Behold now our brothers in Polonia, while the first-fruits of the faith are in the act of being gathered in, have broken the treaty of peace and are proclaiming war against us, and endeavouring to stain once again by the shedding of human blood the people who were but recently cleansed by the washing of baptism. Let it not be that while you were present with us the Church of Christ that has been here gathered together should be dispersed and at a time when with your coming peace has come to this province." When he heard this the good father shed tears and said, "Be not afraid, my God, in whom as a result of my unworthy coming ye have believed, is able to remove the cause of war and to restore to His new fold the desired peace. I am myself ready to lay down my life on your behalf: only devote your attention to the religion which ye have learned. I and my companions will go to the Duke of Polonia and, with God's help, will induce him to abandon his intention of making war." Whereupon they fell prostrate at his feet and rendered to him the thanks that were his due.

He then made arrangements in regard to his fellow-travellers and left the holy priest Udalricus, entrusting to him the task of strengthening the newly-converted people of Uznoim. He himself commenced his journey to the Duke of Polonia as he had announced. When the Duke heard of his coming he met him with haste and with due reverence, and continued to treat him with every kindness, as was right, for before this time he had known him as a friend. When he

learned the cause of his journey, he was astonished and said that that people had ravaged his land and people with bestial cruelty and ferocity, and had even dragged parents from their tombs, and had cut off their heads, torn out their teeth and scattered their bones on the public roads, and it was a wonder that he (the bishop) was himself alive and had not been torn in pieces by them, as all who came thither in former times to proclaim Christ had incurred sentence of death, and one of these had recently suffered death by crucifixion. The bishop declared that he was safeguarded by divine protection, by the respect shown to the Roman chief, and by the defence provided by the Duke Wortizlaus, and he said that this nation had now received Christian grace and that he had come in order to ward off a warlike attack from a nation which had received God's peace, so that the newly-made flock might not be perturbed at the beginning of its Christian life and might not wander from the right path. The Duke Bolezlav replied that it was not easy for him to abandon an expedition that had been so long prepared, and that he would henceforth be despised by everyone if he did not inflict just vengeance upon the Duke of the Pomeranians, who had so greatly offended him; he rendered thanks to God that His servant had departed from this people, because while he was with them he could not wage war upon this people that had become his enemy. The bishop answered, "Though I have myself retired, Udalricus my beloved chaplain has remained there, whom I left to confirm and console the newly-converted people, and I am torn with anxiety for him no less than for myself. Know, therefore, my beloved son, that if you should alienate from the yoke of the faith Christ's new spouse by shattering her by war you will have to render an account to God in the great Judgment. I am myself prepared to die for the sheep that have been entrusted

to me." The Duke replied, "If the Duke of the Pomeranians will humble himself and come to me in person and ask for pardon I will do as you say, and I call God in heaven to witness that I would not consent to do this great thing even for my lord and king Lotharius; but I have had respect to thee and to thy hoary head, because thou didst not hesitate to endure fatigue for the love of God by coming into these remote and barbarous districts."

Messengers of distinction were accordingly despatched forthwith, who summoned the Duke Wortizlaus and Udalricus, and provided them with the safe-conduct for which they asked. Their three days' journey having been completed, they arrived at Polonia and they and their suite were received with honour, and commenced to deal with the matter for which they had come. For two days they failed to complete their task, but on the third day, by God's assistance, and by the help supplied by Otto, they gave each other the kiss of reconciliation and peace, and having abandoned their intention of fighting the two dukes in the presence of the leaders and nobles pledged themselves to maintain a treaty of inviolate goodwill. The Duke of Pomerania in token of his devotion offered on the altar of St. Adalbert a large sum of money and, after commending himself to their prayers, returned to Uznoim by the way that he had come, together with Otto and all his companions.

The people which had but recently accepted the Christian laws shed tears of gratitude for the peace and security which God had given them, and were encouraged to preserve with all care the faith that had been handed down to them, whilst the devout preacher with vigilant care sent ministers of the Word to the towns that lay around as he had done before.

XIV. There were on the other side of the sea barbarous people called Ucranians who were distinguished for their cruelty and savagery. When

these heard news of the good bishop, they sent to him a number of messengers who assured him that if ever he should venture to come to their land he and all his companions would immediately be delivered over to a most cruel death. When the man of God, who was fervent in spirit, put aside their threats and on several occasions arranged to go thither, he was kept back by all who desired to preserve his life. He was, nevertheless, distressed because none of his companions desired to attempt this task. When Udalricus, the holy priest of St. Egidius, perceived this, he offered himself without hesitation for this hazard. Otto congratulated him and granted him permission and companions for his journey. Adalbert, the interpreter of the man of God, was not present on this occasion, but when he learned what had occurred, he strove to turn away the bishop from this design and addressed him thus with tears and sobs, "Holy father, what is it thou doest? Why dost thou not fear to send thy beloved fellow-worker to his death? Know of a truth that thou wilt be adjudged by us all to be responsible, and as hungering for his death?" God's servant smiled and said, "Did not the Lord Jesus Christ Himself send out His disciples as sheep in the midst of wolves?[1] And the chief of the apostles who is the lord of the whole Church has sent forth many of his subjects to overcome the madness of the barbarians. St. Clement the Pope sent also Dionysius the Areopagite to Gaul, and other bishops of Rome sent their best beloved to evangelize them, and these were murdered by the pagans. Nor did their masters regard themselves as having been responsible for their death, but they rather delighted in their ready devotion to glorious suffering. God is my witness that for love of Him I would myself be ready to undertake this perilous task of preaching the gospel, but ye are preventing me by force from setting

[1] St. Matt. x. 16.

forth—for this reason I do not refuse to send forth this servant of Christ who himself wishes to go." In the following night Udalricus in his sleep saw himself in the porch of the Church of St. Egidius engaged in girding himself as for a journey. When he tried to go out by the door, Berthrada, and Wendelmuot, the handmaidens of Christ, with the others who were there, seized the fringe of his clothing and drew him back and would not suffer him to go out of the door. When he was roused from sleep and had related this to Adalbert the interpreter, he said that the meaning of the vision was clear, that it meant that the brides of Christ over whom he was placed in Bamberg had, by their insistent prayers, obtained their request from God and that he should not seek to go to the Ucranians, where certain death awaited him, but that he should rather, whilst still alive, revisit his foster daughters. Udalricus, the servant of God, however, would by no means allow himself to be recalled from his good design on this account, but when the morning was come made a full confession to Otto, and with keen devotion undertook this difficult journey in order to procure the remission of sins. He embarked without delay with his companions and a certain Polonian interpreter, a devout man, and, fortified by the blessing of the man of God and by the prayers of all who wished him success, he set out. At that time the sky and the sea were calm and smiling. But when he was some distance from the shore the waves were suddenly stirred by a most violent wind, and a great storm began to assail him, which quickly seized the ship and brought it again to the shore which it had left, and at the same time restored Udalricus to his former place. This storm on the sea which continued for seven days put an end to all attempts to undertake this journey.

II. XII. The worthy priest Udalricus, after he had

received the bishop's blessing, prepared what was needed for the priestly office, and taking a chalice, a book and whatever else was necessary for performing mass, he embarked on a ship. When we saw our dearly beloved brother hastening by himself to secure the palm of martyrdom we did not dare to dissuade him, but followed him on his way with abundant tears. For about three hours he proceeded with favouring winds till he was just out of our sight, when a storm arose and contrary winds drove his vessel hither and thither and made it impossible for him to continue on his course, and, after enduring much fatigue, he was driven on to the shore from which he had started. Notwithstanding that the storm and the rain were beating upon him from above and the hurricane was filling the boat from beneath till he was completely drenched and seemed hardly able to breathe, he was unwilling to abandon his attempt. He did not disembark but sat in his little ship waiting till the sea should become calm and meanwhile baling water out of his ship. When the winds had a little subsided, he began his journey again, and was again interfered with in a similar way. A third time he tried to start, but, as before, the darkness and storm came down upon him, and with difficulty, and as it were by a miracle, he escaped the fury of the sea; nor did the storm cease for seven days. The man of God then understood that the Ucranians were unworthy to receive the gift of the gospel. He ran therefore to aid him with his clergy and led his disciple from the sea-shore to shelter as one who had been crowned after wrestling, and gave thanks to God for his constancy, and for the greatness of his faith. When they had supped the brethren began to make jokes concerning the journey of Udalricus. "If he had perished," they asked, "who would be responsible for his murder?" Adalbert the interpreter, who had specially disapproved of what had been done,

said, "Who would be more justly regarded as the murderer than the man who sent him to face so great a danger?" The bishop, however, although he had before been attacked in this way by the same brother, was in no wise perturbed, but referred to the gospel and defended his action by the example of the Lord Jesus who sent forth His disciples as sheep amongst wolves. "Who," he asked, "was regarded as guilty of murder when the disciples who were sent by the Lord were killed? He who sent the sheep to the wolves knew that the sheep would forthwith be devoured by the wolves. The sheep were devoured by the wolves: the apostles were killed by tyrants." He then applied the parable to his own action, and inspired his disciples by his closely reasoned teaching, and rejoicing in the spirit he spent a large part of the night in fitting discourse. When the morning came they discussed among themselves what they should do, or whither they should go. After a little vacillation, they divided among themselves as faithful cultivators whatever work remained to be done in the Lord's field, and some went back to Timina, whilst the rest went to other places in order to preach the gospel.]

XV. The apostle of the Pomeranians, who wisely considered that the will of God was hereby revealed, but who judged the Ucranians unworthy to hear the word of salvation, directed his journey to the people of Stettin who, as we have already said, had apostatized from the faith, although many who were faithful to Christ and were his friends would have recalled him from this attempt. For the idol priests had stirred up all the apostate people to seek with one accord his death. He himself being eager for martyrdom and perceiving that none of his companions would venture to undertake this task, gathered together on a certain day his episcopal clothes, and

placing them on his neck started on the journey alone, and seeing a boat that happened to be passing he paid his passage money and went on board with all speed. When, in accordance with the divine will, Udalricus discovered what had happened, he immediately told his companions, who followed him with quick steps, the first being Adalbert the interpreter, who caught him up and compelled him to return, though he was unwilling and strove to resist. He groaned deeply, and bitterly deplored his capture, and said that he deserved now to have companions from amongst his attendants on this dangerous journey, whilst they, having regard to his great zeal, thought that it was wrong to recall him or to leave him unattended.

[H. XIII. The bishop proposed to go to Stettin with his assistants in order to convince its proud inhabitants of the wickedness of their apostasy. The clergy, however, who were to go with him, knowing that the people of Stettin were barbarous and cruel, feared both for his safety and their own and urged him diligently not to go thither. When they were distressed at his action, he said, "I see that we have only come for pleasure, and that whatever comes in our way that is rough or difficult we consider must be rejected. Be it so. For though I would not compel anyone to seek the glory of martyrdom, if it were within my power I would persuade all of you to do so. If you are not willing to help I ask that you will at any rate not interfere with me. Let each one control his own life: you are free, I also am free. Let me go, I beseech you." When all had been sent away he applied himself to prayer in his own cell until the evening. He then called a servant boy and ordered him to shut all the doors, to keep everyone away from him and to admit no one without his approval. When this was done,

in accordance with his secret plan he arranged to flee. He put on his travelling raiment and girded himself, and placing in a bag his priestly robes, a book, a chalice and other vessels, he lifted it on to his shoulders. Then, concealed by the darkness of the night, and without the knowledge of anyone, he went forth from the town secretly and unattended, and took the road that went towards Stettin. When he had looked hither and thither and saw that no one was accompanying him he blessed God for the success of his stratagem, and with eager joy he began his morning Office, and hastened on so as to complete his entire journey during that night. As the nocturnal traveller was eagerly wending his way the tenth hour of the night was drawing on. When the clergy rose from their several beds and gathered together to say their morning prayers, some went on tiptoe to the bishop's cell, eager to discover whether he was asleep or awake, or what he was doing, but as they drew nearer and still nearer and failed to find the bishop, they were greatly perplexed, and after a diligent search and having made many inquiries of the man in charge of the cell and others who were near, they eventually learned what had occurred. Why need I say more? They were all distressed, and departed, some on foot and some on horseback, to search everywhere for the bishop. When the morning came those who were on horseback went by a direct path and with great haste towards the sea, following the route of him who had left them, and came up with him as he was going. When he saw them from afar, as he was about to embark, he was greatly perturbed, and groaning deeply he said, "Alas, Lord Jesus, the only Son of God, the only begotten of the Virgin, whose name is sweet unto me, wilt Thou deprive me of the object of my desire? Grant, I pray, that those who are coming may either come with me, or that they may not hinder me from carrying out my

purpose." As he said this they came up to him, and forthwith jumping down from their horses they prostrated themselves at his feet. What then happened? He prostrated himself also: they rose and he rose: they wept, he also wept, and grief and sorrow for a long time prevented them and him from speaking. At length when many tears had been shed, he who was the eldest burst forth with these sorrowful words: "Why have you come? Return, I pray you, to your quarters, and I will continue on the way on which I have set out." They, however, replied: "Be it far from us to do so: it is enough for us to have caused this great confusion: from henceforth we will never leave you. If you desire to return, we will gladly return with you, but if you prefer to go on, we will go on with you. But let our advice be acceptable to your holiness. Let us return to-day to the brethren and to our servants, to-morrow —we speak as in the presence of God—we will all go with you either to life or to death."

XIV. On this understanding the bishop returned with them, and on the following day, accompanied by them all, he started out on the same journey.]

Accordingly they embarked in a boat, and when they had come near to the town of Stettin those on the look-out recognized the bishop and, having scanned him carefully, raised a great disturbance and cried out to the citizens that the former teacher of error had come, and that they ought to attack him with swords and clubs and treat him with indignity in order to vindicate the honour of their gods. When the servant of God had learned this through his interpreter, being fearless and armed with the ardour of his faith, he raised the standard of the cross, and having made himself ready by putting on his bishop's dress contemplated going forth to meet them. He first of all entered the church of the chief of the

apostles, which he had built in front of the gate of this city, and offered to Christ the worship that was His due, and then awaited the onset of the barbarians and the completion of his life in Christ. After a little while the people burst forth from the gates with a tumultuous noise, but when they beheld the servants of Christ singing the praises of God, they hesitated much and long and conferred amongst themselves as to what they should do, and at length, by God's help, they were overcome with fear and retreated in confusion by the way by which they had come.

[H. XIV. And they began to be more kindly disposed and they said that reason rather than force was needed to decide whether these things should be accepted or rejected. Then some who were wiser than the rest in reference to these matters secretly gathered together the priests, saying that it belonged to them to defend their own religion by suitable arguments. Whilst they muttered these things among themselves they gradually departed one by one to their own homes. This happened on a Friday.]

On that day and on the following sabbath day the bishop had time for quiet thought as he eagerly waited in the same church with his companions for the hour of suffering to arrive.

[H. XVI. The wicked priests, when in a certain year men and beasts suffered illness and death owing to the changes in the temperature, declared that this calamity was sent by the gods, and, with the consent of the people, they had broken down the bells and had begun to destroy the church of the blessed martyr Adalbert. Whilst one of them was striking the altar with a mason's hammer, he was suddenly struck by the Lord with languor and stupor, and as his hammer fell from his hand he

too fell to the ground. When, after a long space, he had recovered his breath, he addressed the people who were standing by as one whose character had been reformed by the blow that had befallen him, and said, "It is in vain, O citizens, that we strive; the God of the Christians is strong and cannot be driven away by us. My advice is that we keep Him, but at the same time that we do not part with our ancient gods and that we build an altar for our gods next to His altar, so that by worshipping them all alike we may secure that He and they are equally propitious to us." What were the people to do? Terrified, as they were, by the portent, they approved the advice given them and, having impiously built an altar next to the altar of the Lord, they served God and devils even as the ancient historian says, "The people of Samaria worshipped the gods of the nations, but none the less served the Lord." [1]]

As the Sunday dawned in the early morning after the service of the Mass had been completed, Otto, the servant of God, having put on his episcopal headdress and with the standard of the cross borne in front of him, went forth to the multitude of the people in order to preach to them. He took with him Udalricus, who wore a dalmatic, as a deacon, and Adalbert who served as a subdeacon and others to assist in preaching. There were there some large pyramids surrounded by walls to a considerable height in pagan fashion. The good preacher ascended one of these pyramids with his companions, and through his interpreter Adalbert began to explain the way of truth to those who had gone wrong and to threaten them with eternal destruction if they did not turn from their apostasy.

XVI. As he was engaged in preaching the chief idol priest came running breathless and perspiring,

[1] 2 Kings xvii. 23.

and creeping in amongst the closely pressed crowd he struck the pyramid and with a great shout ordered the servant of God to be silent. He and his companions on the previous night had planned to effect the death of the bishop at the earliest dawn of Sunday, but by God's providence he had been overcome with deep sleep and had been prevented from carrying out his purpose. When he awoke, at the second hour of the day, and heard that the man of God was already preaching in an open assembly, he was extremely angry, and rushing thither ordered him to be silent. The servant of the Lord, however, continued stedfastly to carry out the work which he had begun. The idol priest endeavoured to restrain by his noisy and high-pitched shouts the gentle voice of Adalbert, the interpreter, and with a strong voice ordered the barbarians to transfix forthwith Christ's preacher with the spears which, in accordance with the old custom of the Roman Quirites, they always carried. When they were about to obey his commands and had raised their right hands aloft in order to strike him, influenced by divine power, they became stiff like stones, so that they could neither put down their spears nor open their mouths, but their hands remained suspended and immovable and seemed as though they were chained. When the unfortunate idol priest saw this, he was inflamed with anger and began to charge them with cowardice, and seizing a spear from one of them, he tried to transfix Christ's servant. He too immediately became rigid, and overcome with shame turned to flee. When he was gone Otto made the sign of the cross and invoked a blessing upon the people, who, being forthwith released from their bonds, put down their right hands which held the arrows; whereupon the bishop gave thanks to God for this manifest miracle and entered the town with confidence; and when

he saw that the central part of the church of St. Adalbert had been destroyed, he wept bitterly and, kneeling together with his companions, engaged in long and earnest prayer.

Meanwhile the barbarians, armed with swords and clubs, had gathered together and had surrounded the door of the church, seeking to kill God's servants, but as a result of divine influence, they were suddenly overcome with trembling and turned to flee. Then the chief, Witscacus, who had once been delivered by Otto from his captivity with the Danes, intervened together with other friends of the bishop and begged him by any possible way to leave the city before he met his death by the treachery of the priests. The saintly bishop refused, saying, "It is for this purpose that I have come."

[H. XVII. Witscacus, who was zealous on behalf of the faith, performed not once nor twice the commission that he had received, and from the time when he returned from captivity never ceased preaching the kingdom of God, and telling the citizens of the compassion of the Lord and the merits of his liberator, threatening them too with divine vengeance if they did not cease from their errors. All the citizens with the exception of the priests regarded what had happened with admiration and astonishment, but owing to the force of custom they could not give up their heathen rites. But now gaining courage from the presence of the bishop he spoke more freely and more eloquently. He, who had overcome the idols and the prophets who had prophesied falsely concerning them, came to God's servant, together with his friends and acquaintances, and did him humble reverence, giving him thanks and telling him everything as it had happened. He urged the bishop, who was himself eager, to go on with the task of preaching, and promised help and advice on

behalf of himself and his companions. Accordingly on the Lord's Day, when the service of the Mass had been completed, the bishop, dressed as he was in his sacred armour, with the cross carried in front, as was his custom, asked to be led into the market-place. When he arrived at the gate, the skiff by means of which Witscacus had been carried across the sea without rowing, was hanging on the gate-post, and Witscacus coming to the bishop's side and striking the skiff with his spear, said, "Behold, father, this skiff witnesses to thy holiness, and establishes my faith and my mission to this people. It was very short, made of alder wood, and could easily be carried by two men. The bishop stood and examined the skiff carefully and noted that even in the calmest water of a river, when controlled by a pole, it would scarcely support a single person, still less could it have done so amid the waves of the sea and without any guidance, had not a miracle been worked by divine power. The good bishop gave thanks to God that by this act He had manifested His power to an unbelieving people. The man who had been set free said, laughing, "I have hung this up at the gate in order that those who come in and go out may learn thereby what, most holy father, they may hope in their times of difficulty from the mercy of God and from thy merits." The bishop then pushed his way into the compact assemblage of the pagans and accompanied by his servants advanced into the middle of the market-place. There were there some wooden steps from which the heralds and magistrates were accustomed to speak. Standing on these the minister of the gospel began to speak, while Witscacus, acting the part of a herald, stilled with hand and voice the murmurs of those who disproved.

XVIII. When all had become silent and most of them were eager to hear his discourse, one of the priests who was a man of Belial, and was passionate,

fat and tall, rushed into the midst of the crowd, and brandishing his spear in his hand, advanced panting and gasping as far as the steps, and, raising his hand once and again, struck the top of the steps with great violence. When a great clamour had arisen and strange words of abuse had been uttered, he demanded silence while he spoke, and his loud and raucous voice drowned the speech of the interpreter and of the bishop. Addressing the people he said, "O senseless, foolish and indolent people, why are ye deceived and bewitched? Behold, your enemy and the enemy of your gods is here. For what do ye wait? Are they to suffer derision and injury for nothing?" While all the people were advancing with spears in their hands, he said, "Let this day put an end to all his deception." Addressing them all, he spoke also to those individuals of whose evil disposition he was assured, calling them by their own names. Those who were inflamed with a spirit of madness and who were accustomed to act with rashness rather than with discretion, roused by the voice of the speaker, began to raise their spears, but while they were brandishing them in readiness to throw them, their limbs became rigid in the very act of throwing them, and, marvellous to relate, they were unable to throw their spears, to relax their right arms, or to move out of their places. They stood immovable, as images, a spectacle to the faithful and the pious. As many as were unbelieving and evil disposed and had fallen away from the Christian faith, and, continuing in their persistent folly in unbelief, had raised impious hands against God's servant, stood suffering this punishment until the good had been strengthened in their faith, and in the case of the others by the punishment inflicted on their bodies the wickedness of their hearts had been corrected. The bishop, making use of the opportunity afforded by the miracle, said, "Ye see, my brothers, how great is the

power of the Lord. It is indeed, as I perceive, by divine power that you are held fast. Why do you not throw your spears? Why not put down your right hands? Why continue so long in one position?" They however, whether through confusion or astonishment, made no reply. Then he continued, "Let your gods for whose religion ye contend help you if they can. Let this noisy priest of yours call upon the gods on your behalf, let him give you counsel or assistance. If he knows anything or can do anything, now is the time for action." The priest, however, stood amazed at the course which the events had taken and did not venture to mutter anything more. And when all were silent and held by a great fear, the bishop being moved with pity said, "Thanks be to Thee, O Lord, Jesus Christ, who are wont to exercise Thy power and strength, when occasion arises, to terrify those who oppose and to protect Thy servants. But, inasmuch as Thou art holy and compassionate, we pray that Thou wilt pardon the ignorance, or the temerity, of this people, and that with Thine accustomed pity Thou wilt restore to these the use of their bodies, of which by Thy restraining power they have been deprived." When he had said this and had made the sign of the cross towards them, his speech produced an immediate effect. The bishop added also, "If hitherto you have been unwilling to listen, prove now by touch and feeling how great is the compassion of our God and how true is the faith which we declare unto you." He argued at length and with great force concerning the judgment and compassion of God and the uncertainty of this present life and the continuance of things that are eternal, and he instructed the sinners in Zion who were afraid,[1] and when they had been overcome by the saving medicine of his eloquence, he gave them his blessing and dismissed the assembly. Descend-

[1] Isa. xxxiii. 14.

ing then from the steps he visited, with the faithful believers who were zealous on behalf of God's house,[1] the Church of St. Adalbert and, having first offered a solemn prayer, he destroyed the altar of abomination and, having broken it into small pieces, cast it out. Having then performed a service of cleansing and reconciliation he caused the broken parts of the church to be restored at his own expense.]

After fourteen days a general Conference was announced, at which the priests and people might arrive at a definite decision either to take upon them the yoke of Christ or to abjure it altogether. On the appointed day the bishop ascended the hill of Triglav in the middle of the town where was the Duke's dwelling-place, and entered his large house which was a convenient place for this Conference. The chiefs together with the priests were present, and when silence was made the man of God said, "The day that was fixed for our meeting has now come, and I, who eagerly desire your salvation, wish to hear from your own mouths whether you have decided to serve my Lord Jesus Christ, who is the true light, or the devil, who is the prince of darkness." One of the priests answered, "It was not right that this Conference should have been delayed so long, inasmuch as in former time and now and always it is our determination to worship the gods of our fathers; do not therefore labour to no purpose, for thy speech has no place amongst us."[2] On hearing this the man of God said, "I perceive that Satan has destroyed your vision so that you cannot behold the true light. I am innocent of the blood of all of you,[3] for I have not shunned to declare unto you the word of God in season and out

[1] 1 Kings xix. 10.

[2] Sermo tuus non capit in nobis; cf. St. John viii. 37 (Vulgate), quia sermo meus non capit in vobis. ὅτι ὁ λόγος ὁ ἐμὸς οὐ χωρεῖ ἐν ὑμῖν.

[3] St. Matt. xxvii. 24.

of season.[1] But as you have cast away the yoke of my Lord Jesus Christ, I commit you to the power of Satan whom ye have chosen, so that, being delivered over with him to eternal destruction, you may possess that heritage where the worm dieth not and the fire is not quenched."[2] Rising then from his place he took up his spiritual arms and placed his stole on his neck in order that he might bind them by his solemn curse. When the chiefs saw this they were seized with timely fear, and prostrated themselves at his feet humbly, entreating him to suspend his curse, and to allow them a brief space of time in which to confer. The good bishop at once agreed, and placing aside his stole he sat down. The chiefs then went out of the house, leaving the priests behind, and with one accord they abjured the uncleanness of their idolatry and accepted the faith of Christ. First of all Witscacus, who was the man of chief rank amongst them, went in to the servant of God and delivered this opinion on behalf of them all. "Honourable father, I, together with the chiefs who rule this place, being inspired by God, have by a unanimous vote agreed that we banish to a distance from our lands these sacrilegious priests who have incited us to all evil, and that with ready mind we follow you as our leader and teacher on the way that leads to eternal salvation." Then he turned to the priest who had spoken before and said, "Wretched and miserable man, what help did your gods render to me when I was closely fettered and guarded, and was already awaiting sentence of death, my companions having been cruelly strangled, and when I distinctly saw Otto, my lord and father, freeing me from my fetters and restoring me to the liberty for which I longed? Is it not better for me to serve the living and true God who was my liberator, than to serve logs and stones which have neither life nor feeling? Go then

[1] 2 Tim. iv. 2. [2] St. Mark ix. 43.

with your companions whither you will, and beware that you appear no more in our territory, for inasmuch as our Lord Jesus Christ is King over us, there is no room for you and your idols in these parts." When they heard this all the idol priests rose up without delay and fled with haste, and none of them was afterwards seen in that place. The bishop thereupon rendered cordial thanks to God, and he and his companions began at once to destroy the idol temples.

[H. XIX. As he frequently visited the church of St. Adalbert the bishop noticed on one occasion some boys playing in an open space. When he had saluted them in their own tongue he made as though to join in their play, and with the sign of the cross he blessed them in the name of the Lord. Going on a little he noticed that all the people left their own games, and, gathering together with the desire to see him, followed behind him admiring his appearance and his dress, as common people are wont to do. The man of God stopped and addressing in a kindly voice those around him inquired if any of them had received baptism. They looked one upon another and began to put forward those of them who had been baptized. The bishop then called them aside and asked them whether it was their desire to preserve the faith of their baptism. When they strongly asserted that they desired to keep it the bishop said, "If you desire to be Christians and to keep the faith in which you have been baptized, you ought not to admit to your games those boys who have not been baptized and who do not believe." Accordingly, as the bishop suggested, like joined with like, and the boys who had been baptized began to repel and show their dislike for those who had not been baptized and refused to let them join in their games. It was delightful to see how the one set gloried in the profession of the

Christian name and treated as a friend and gazed eagerly upon and listened to their teacher even when they were playing, and how the others stood afar off confused and frightened in view of their unbelief. The good father instructed with mild discourse those who believed and urged them to a fuller belief according to their several powers, and went on exhorting those who did not believe to believe until they begged to be baptized and to be made Christians.]

XVII. He then proceeded with joy to reconcile to the catholic mother Church those who had apostatized from the faith, by bearing aloft the life-giving cross and by prayer, after purifying them with water which he had blessed, and by the laying on of his hands: but in the case of others he refused to confer baptismal grace and the sacraments of the faith. But as it is written, "They that seek the Lord shall lack nothing that is good,"[1] so the Lord deigned to show to the preacher of the truth who was labouring for God his bountifulness and loving-kindness. For the fishermen of Stettin in the autumn in which they were making trial of Christ's service, went to the River Oder and captured two turbots which usually appeared only in the spring. In their astonishment the people concluded that their unexpected capture was intended as provision for the new preachers. Soon afterwards they met their apostle as they were carrying their delightful gift and told him that never before had turbots been seen in those parts during the autumn, but that by a celestial miracle the Lord had given proof of His bounty in view of his coming. The turbots were of such great size and length that they provided food sufficient for fourteen days for the servant of God and his companions and left a large

[1] Ps. xxxiv. 10.

amount to be divided amongst some of the chief men. As a result the people were more and more strengthened in the faith, beholding with astonishment the grace manifested in their apostle by the increase both of their temporal and spiritual possessions.

XVIII. There was a certain shrine situated at a distance to which the bishop had sent his faithful and beloved friend, the good priest Udalricus, in order that he might destroy it. There were, however, a few persons who supported the worship of idols, and, when they saw him from the wall as he was coming thither, they tried to break his head by throwing stones and pieces of wood. By the help of God he avoided these and was uninjured, and returning to his father Otto he told him of their plots. The man of God immediately raised the standard of the cross and binding on his episcopal headdress he proceeded without hesitation to undertake this perilous adventure. The barbarians would not endure his presence and dispersed hither and thither, seeking to conceal themselves by flight. When the shrine had been destroyed, and the man of God was returning he found a very large nut tree which was consecrated to the idol together with a fountain the water of which flowed beneath. He at once ordered his companions to cut it down, whereupon the people of Stettin came out and earnestly begged that it should not be cut down because the indigent man who was its guardian obtained his poor subsistence from its fruit. They declared also with an oath that by a general edict they would for ever prohibit the sacrifices which had been there offered to demons. The good teacher, influenced by the justice of their reasonings, acceded to this request. While they were engaged in mutual discussion the barbarian who was the guardian of the tree suddenly came up and, approaching secretly from behind, struck a violent blow with an axe at the sacred head of the bishop. By divine providence he missed

his aim and struck the axe with such force into the wooden floor of the bridge on which the bishop was standing that the difficulty of drawing it out again caused delay to the assailant.

XIX. When the interpeter, Adalbert, saw this he was struck by so great a fear that he quickly snatched the axe from the hands of the barbarian and ran off. The others, overcome by unaccustomed horror, attacked the sacrilegious man and threatened him with death. The pious Otto, however, interfered to prevent the murderer from suffering any harm and procured for him, unworthy as he was, life and safety. Adalbert burst into tears, and with a devout inclination of the head, saluted the Bamberg mountain dedicated to St. Michael and said, "This blow was doubtless averted by providence from my lord bishop as a result of the prayers of the brethren in the monastery of St. Michael, for this barbarian was by nature skilful and versed in the knowledge of shooting and of striking with the hand, and if the blow were not diverted, he would be able to hit even a circumscribed mark." At that time we offered many prayers and supplications, as was our wont, for our beloved Otto, who never ceased to cherish us above all others with maternal rather than fatherly love. Thus on a certain occasion when, having been summoned to a public conference by his serene majesty King Lotharius, he was seriously ill in the town of Magdeburg, he sent for our Abbot Hermann, of divine memory, and sent us by him three hundred marks, besides other gifts, and gave utterance to these sorrowful words: "How great are the pains that keep me here sick and far removed from my sweet abode of rest, namely the hill of my lord and patron St. Michael, the archangel, where my heart and mind are fixed, and where—God is my witness—if I could be now placed I would gladly pay a thousand marks." And inasmuch as love demands love in return—from his head as the

Scripture saith[1] the ointment fails not, that is, of his merit the charity never faileth—we strove to repay his special affection by offering special and earnest prayers on his behalf. To mention only one case, Ellenhard who was our senior, and a man of the greatest prudence and piety and beloved for his conscientiousness and humility, was wont to anticipate the nocturnal prayers of the brethren and never ceased to assail the placid ears of divine mercy by his tears and sighs until as a result of his merits he secured a response from heaven and heard of the much-desired return of Otto. For when in the night time, in accordance with his custom, he was offering up earnest prayers for his beloved father on the dark steps of the chapel consecrated to the holy virgins, a clear light suddenly shone forth and he heard a voice saying to him, "Thy prayers for the holy Otto have been heard and thou shalt receive him again in safety." We have been constrained to insert these few remarks, but must now return to our subject.

XX. When the inhabitants of Stettin had been confirmed in the faith and teaching of the Lord and the man of God was arranging to return to Uznoim, the citizens of the town came to him and begged that by his intervention he would put an end to the dispute which at the instigation of the devil had broken out between them and the Duke Wortizlaus. Whereupon he said, "I will do as you wish, but I desire that you should send messengers of honourable rank with me to bring back to you the terms of peace and, if the Duke has any just cause of complaint, to explain the points that may be raised." The people of Stettin immediately appointed messengers to accompany their good pastor, who also served as a guard to the bishop on the journey. For two idol priests had laid snares in order to secure the death of

[1] Eccles. ix. 8. Vulg. et oleum de capite tuo non deficiat: 1 Cor. xiii. 8, caritas nunquam excidit.

the man of God, and had sent on secretly eighty-four soldiers to find and kill him on his return journey and to bring back to them his head fixed on a post. But against the Lord is there no wisdom, no fortitude, no counsel.[1] For the holy Otto, being protected by divine providence, came forth unharmed, whilst the unbelievers fell into the snare and pit which they had prepared. For in the absence of the good bishop the chief idol priest called together his friends and with exceeding joy bade them keep this day as a festival day for their gods, and he said, "Our god whom that old deceiver has attempted to destroy has appeared to me, and has clearly announced that Otto's head is to be cut off to-day, and sent to me to-day." When he had given vent to this wild utterence with laughing voice, his neck was suddenly shattered by the devil and his head was bent back cross-wise, in a horrible and pitiable manner, and his brain coming out of its place was dashed against the wall with a cruel impact. When his friends saw this they were struck with amazement and inquired of him the cause of this strange calamity. He cried out with a dreadful voice and at length exclaimed, "It is because I have tried to ensnare the servant of God, and to separate you from the way of truth, that I have been terribly afflicted by God." Having said this he expired and the place was thereupon filled with so dreadful an odour that as he was dying no one could stand there on account of the unbearable smell. And as it is written, "When a pestilent man is punished the wise man will become wiser,"[2] so all the people, when they heard of his death, were more and more encouraged to persevere in the faith. There was, however, one other idol priest who was not overcome with remorse, but began an altercation with the man of God and declared that his teaching would soon be done away with in those parts. He endeavoured also to draw away from the

[1] Cf. Prov. xxi. 20. [2] Cf. Prov. xix. 25; xxi. 11.

true path all whom he could influence, and as a result he also perished soon afterwards by the judgment of God. For whilst for some urgent reason he was crossing the sea in a boat, he left the boat for a short time in order to retire to a neighbouring wood. By divine providence it came about that some of his companions, armed with righteous zeal, followed him secretly, and when they had caught him in a cruel snare they hung him up in a closely wooded place. So his grief and his iniquity descended on his own head.[1] When then the eighty-four soldiers who, as we have said, had been sent on by that wicked idol priest had seen the man of God as he was sailing, they burst forth from their hiding-place and demanded of him in a loud voice whither he was going. The messengers from Stettin asked in return why they made this inquiry, but the others, recognizing the voices of their own friends and citizens, stopped and said that they had been unaware of their presence there. They replied, "The Lord's bishop is going to put a stop to the discord that has long existed between us and the Duke, and for this reason we will not suffer any harm to molest him on his journey, but are prepared to suffer death on his behalf. If therefore you desire to consult your own interests, return as quickly as possible by the way by which you came."

[H. XXIV. The wicked priests, however, who were inspired by devils, as they could not act openly, tried to injure God's servant by craft. They accordingly brought together a great number of assassins, and invested the route by which he was leaving at the narrowest part where the ship would pass, having foretold, as though by divination, the death of the bishop to his friends, who were unaware of what was being done. When they came to the spot the enemy seized their arms, laid hold on those who were climb-

[1] Ps. vii. 17.

ing the ropes and attacked those who were sailing the boat, desiring above everything the bishop's blood. But the people of Stettin and our men who were with the bishop seized their arms and jumped from the boat, and standing some on the land and some in the water bravely repelled force by force. When the fight had gone on for some time, those who had taken part in the ambuscade began to be recognized by the people of Stettin and fled in confusion from the scene of their crime.]

XXI. Thus, by divine providence, was the wicked design of the idol priest frustrated, whilst the servant of God drew near to the town of Julin which had formerly been initiated by him into the sacraments of the faith.

[H. XXV. When, by the help of God, the bishop arrived at Julin he met there with no opposition. For the people bore with patience all his remonstrances in reference to their apostasy, and other offences, and were ready to purge and improve their unworthy and evil actions and to amend their conduct in accordance with his teaching. By the laying on of his hands and by use of the sacred word he reunited all to the holy and apostolic Church, baptizing the boys and those whom he found had not received this sacrament. As they, like the inhabitants of Stettin, had abandoned the faith, so, when these were converted, their conversion was rendered easy, for it was their desire to imitate them in all matters.]

When he had strengthened its people, alike by his teaching and example, a certain woman who had been deprived of her sight fell at his feet and earnestly entreated his blessing and that she might be cured. The good Otto addressing her in a jovial manner said, "Behold, the church of the martyr St. Adal-

bert is near at hand, trust in God and His saints and run thither, and lay hold on the bell, and ask for the aid of the martyr of Christ." For these barbarous people, who were yet uninstructed in the faith, when they sought to obtain any cure in a church, were accustomed to ring the bell in order, as it were, to incite the saints to come to their help. When then with simple faith and expectation this woman had done what the bishop said, she there received her sight, and returned, leaping with delight, to the servant of God and gave thanks for the cure that she had obtained. He said to her, "Not to me but to God and His saints should you give thanks, and may you not fail to persevere to the end in the faith which you have learned."

[H. XXVI. When the people of the town saw this they gave thanks to the Lord for this favour and were the more strengthened in the catholic faith. But when they wished to ascribe this deed to the bishop's merits, he restrained them and said, "Do not recognize me as a worker of miracles but as a sinner; rather know of a certainty that this should be ascribed to the merits of the blessed martyr Adalbert. Have you forgotten how in a former year when the whole of this town was devastated by fire the blessed martyr delivered this his building, although it was placed in the middle of the conflagration? My advice to you is that, mindful of that calamity, you do not again worship either Julius, or the spear of Julius, or the little idol statues, or images, repeating thus your former evil actions, lest by divine vengeance you incur death, pestilence, fire and war." These and other like soothing words God's servant uttered for the instruction of the people.]

After this a certain soldier, who had a lunatic son,

brought him to the servant of God and offered him four oxen to restore his son to health. The bishop in his humility shrunk back and said, "Thou errest, O man; it is not within my power to do this, but go to the tent where I have placed the relics of the saints, and there offer with faith to God and His saints thy prayers for thy son, and thou wilt receive him back again in health." He went with the boy and did as he was instructed, and soon afterwards he showed the boy, who had been healed, to the man of God with great joy.

XXII. It happened after this on the feast of St. Lawrence that a certain priest named Bockens, who was one of Otto's companions, as he was passing by saw some peasants reaping in their fields. He endeavoured discreetly to restrain them and said, "Unhappy men, what is it that you are doing? This is the birthday of the blessed martyr Lawrence, which is observed with the utmost respect by the whole Church, whilst you presume to profane it." They replied, "We cannot always be keeping sabbath: it is right that we should sometimes provide what is necessary for our households." Bockens, however, who was of a fervent spirit, said, "I know that it is not with impunity you have allowed the profanation of this most sacred festival, but you will find that all that you have wrongfully reaped will be consumed by fire from heaven." He had scarcely uttered these words when the fire of God fell from heaven, as he had said, and reduced to ashes the harvest which they had gathered. They recognized the truth of his accusation, and humbly entreated pardon, and henceforth they entertained great reverence for Christ's noble martyr Lawrence, and entrusted themselves and all that they possessed to his protection.

In a town called Games a certain peasant and his wife had gone out to reap during the festival of Mary

the mother of God, and perpetual virgin. When he perceived this Bockens, the before-mentioned attendant on the man of God, moved by righteous zeal, expressed his disapproval and said, "Abandon your work, O unhappy people. It is altogether wrong to attend to work on this renowned festival of the most holy mother of God." It was the second festival day. They replied, "Yesterday we observed Sunday as a festival, to-day we must needs give to work." Bockens, however, answered, "To-day too must be observed by us with complete devotion in honour of the mother of our Lord whose adorable assumption has brought honour to Christ's universal Church." When they refused to listen, and went on obstinately with the work they had begun, the holy priest Bockens said, "As you do not believe my words your blood shall be upon your own head, and ye shall now by manifest proofs understand what is the punishment of this transgression." He had hardly finished speaking when the unbelieving peasant fell backwards and expired, and the piece of corn which he had clutched firmly in his hand whilst engaged in reaping he held on to so firmly in death that no one could open his hand or take the corn from it, but, whilst still maintaining his hold in an astonishing manner, he was committed to the grave. The woman, whose life was preserved by the intervention of the mother of God, was held fast in the same marvellous manner, and with her fingers clutching the corn and adhering to the palm of her hand, she ran trembling to Otto and with humble confession made known her fault and begged as a suppliant for pardon. She was sent by him to the Church of the martyr St. Adalbert, and was there made well. As a result of this occurrence reverence for our Lady, the perpetual virgin, increased in these districts as in every part of Christendom.

After this a certain soldier who was afflicted with

madness made himself a burden to everyone by his insane shouting and the unseemly movements of his limbs. The companions and helpers of the man of God, who could not bear his distressing madness, caught hold of him and drew him to the place where the servant of the Lord was accustomed to pray, and to celebrate mass, for a wooden table had been made there. When the soldier had lain there for a while he was suddenly healed, and springing up gave thanks to God and the saintly bishop, and by his words and intercourse brought salvation to many.

XXIII. God's elect bishop who, with the messengers from Stettin, was on his way to the Duke of Pomerania, came near to the town of Gamin. Here the Duke Wortizlaus met him with all his people and received him with due reverence as a messenger of God. When he had entered the church and had finished saying his accustomed prayers and hymns to God, he began to discuss the cause for which he had come, and, as a good pastor looking round upon all his sheep, he endeavoured to reunite to the Church in peace and unity its divided members. When the Duke heard the words of his holy apostle he received them as though they had been sent to him from heaven and replied kindly and humbly, "It is for you, beloved father, to obtain whatever you think fit, not by asking but by commanding. For all that we have are thine, for thou hast begotten us in Christ Jesus through the Gospel, and hast poured upon the darkness of our ignorance the splendour of the eternal sun. This people for whom you ask is a stiff-necked people, which fears neither God nor man, and has for a long time defiled my kingdom with rapine and robbery. But thou, my dearest pastor, hast tamed those who were savage, and hast changed wolves into lambs. Let them then through thy mediation enjoy henceforth the pleasures of a lasting

peace." The messengers from Stettin forthwith grovelled at his feet and utterly renounced the grounds of their old quarrel, and having received the kiss of peace from the Duke, they rendered to the bishop the thanks that were his due for this reconciliation. They then purchased the things of which they had need and which, when they were in a state of hostility, they had not obtained and returned with joy to their own people.

But forasmuch as the evil always persecute the good, and, as Isaiah says, "He that departeth from evil maketh himself a prey,"[1] the Ruthenians,[2] who were still bound in heathen error, when they heard of the conversion of the people of Stettin, were exceedingly angry because they had renounced their idols and submitted to the Christian law without reference to, or consultation with them, and they feared not to make war upon them. When they had brought together their large army they occupied the river banks and stationed there one line of their men, who were equipped with noise-producing arms and who, with meaningless clamour, sought to find out where their God was and if he was able to succour those who called upon him. The others, however, carried in front of them the standard of the Lord's cross and put their opponents to flight at their first onslaught. On the following day they came back like dogs and again threatened war upon the Christians, but they were overcome in the same way and thrown into confusion and again turned to flight. On the third day, having been well-nigh exterminated, they exclaimed that the God of the Christians was unconquerable, and that if He would spare them they would never again attempt any rash action. The Christians forbore and they speedily dispersed and returned one by one with great fear and confusion to their own homes. But the bishop, who thought it

[1] Isaiah lix. 15. [2] *i. e.* the inhabitants of the island Rugia.

right to return good for evil, desired to teach the Christian laws to these Ruthenians, who had not feared to harass by war a newly-converted people. They, however, hardened themselves against him and on several occasions declared by their messengers that if any of his companions should presume to approach the borders of Ruthenia (Rugia), for the sake of preaching the gospel, their heads would be cut off forthwith and they should be exposed to be torn by wild beasts. But as it is written, "The just man shall be bold as a lion and free from fear,"[1] so the holy father, in the fervour of his devotion, decided to scatter amongst the Ruthenians the seed of the faith; nor did he fear to make trial of the ferocity of this unbelieving people. For, as an ardent lover of Christ, he had long known how to lay down his life, which was dear to him, for Jesus who was dearer than all. When he heard that the archbishop of the Danes,[2] who had jurisdiction over them, had been appointed by the apostolic Ruler as their evangelist, he decided that he could do nothing without his consent and approval. He accordingly sent a faithful messenger named Iwanus to the archbishop of the Danes to inquire carefully whether, in accordance with the command of the apostolic Ruler, he would arrange to hand on the saving word to the Ruthenians, or whether he preferred that he should himself undertake the task of their evangelization in his behalf. In accordance with his usual liberal custom he sent by this messenger to the bishop of the Danes, some new balsam and a valuable stole. Iwanus returned at length after a space of six weeks and brought the reply of the archbishop, which was to the effect that he proposed to consider together with the chiefs and elders of his country, what their decision in regard to these matters should be, and that he would let him know as quickly as possible by means of a trusty

[1] Prov. xxviii. 1.

[2] *i. e.* Ascerus, archiepiscopus Lundensis,

messenger. The archbishop sent as a gift to our good father a small boat filled with butter.

[H. XXX. This people (the Ruthenians), although on many occasions they were invited by different preachers to accept the faith, were never willing to do so as a body, but, whilst some believed, others did not believe. For the most part they lived according to pagan rites, and by choking like thorns the seeds of faith they did not suffer them to develop. Ruthenia is adjacent to the country of the Danes, and ought to be subject to the Danish archbishop. But when a people is engaged in spreading the catholic faith it is unnecessary for priests to quarrel over parish boundaries. As their hatred gradually increased the Ruthenians began to offer open opposition to the people of Stettin. First of all they kept their ships from their own shores, and later on by a unanimous decision they resolved that they should be regarded as enemies, and, as they had heard that Bishop Otto was to come to them for the purpose of preaching, they commanded him that he should never approach their territory. For they said that he would find with them nothing but bitter punishment and certain death. When Otto received this message he silently rejoiced and prepared himself for martyrdom, and he thought out and arranged everything and debated anxiously with himself whether he ought to go alone or accompanied by others to this feast. Now there were at Julin amongst the followers of the bishop some good and prudent men from Stettin who knew the several districts and the customs of this race. The bishop questioned these for some time, as he desired to learn whether they would be willing to conduct him thither. They, however, told him much concerning the origin of the Ruthenian race, the fierceness of their dispositions, the instability of their faith, and their bestial conversation: they told him also that

they ought to be subject to the Danish archbishop. The bishop trusted that their conversion, if it could be secured, would be pleasing to the archbishop, and at the same time he considered that it was fitting that he should obtain his licence and permission before going to preach in his jurisdiction. Accordingly he sent from where he was the venerable priest Iwanus and some other messengers in a boat with letters and gifts to ask for his permission to preach. The archbishop received them with the greatest joy and respect and treated them with the utmost kindness, asking them many questions concerning the position, the teaching and the work of the blessed Otto. He was a good and honest man and loved to hear of things that were good: he was also learned and devout, though externally he possessed the rustic manners of the Slavonians. For it was the case with all the men of that country that, whilst living in prosperity and wealth, they seemed harsh, uncultivated and rustic. Their towns and camps had no walls or towers and were defended with woodwork and ditches. The churches too and the houses of the chief men were humble and poorly designed. The men's pursuits were hunting, fishing, or the tending of cattle, and their whole wealth consisted of these last, for there was but little cultivation of the fields. In regard to food and dress they were by no means luxurious or elegant. Even our middle-class people were ostentatious when compared with them, and the priest Iwanus appeared to be a more important person than the archbishop himself. And as he was a man of good speech and answered all inquiries in a careful manner, he pleased the archbishop much, and he could not hear enough concerning Otto. For he had been known to him by report for many years and he was now glad and proud that he had present with him the worthy and distinguished messengers of the bishop, whose great and noble deeds he had heard spoken of

in all directions. Regarding the message sent to him he said that he could make no reply till, after a certain delay, he had consulted the chiefs and principal men amongst the Danes. Iwanus and the messengers, thinking that this would occupy a long time, asked that they might be sent away, as they feared that the bishop might be distressed at their delay. He very kindly agreed and he sent to the bishop letters, gifts and a fairly large boat filled with butter as a sign of affection and friendship, and said that he would consult with the chiefs as quickly as possible, and send a reply by his own messengers to his statement. Whether he spoke falsely or candidly we did not discover, for, whilst we were spending several days awaiting his messengers, additional messengers from the district of Alamania and from the house at Bamberg arrived, who desired the return of the bishop for great and urgent reasons.

XXXI. On many occasions the Ruthenians had reviled the men of Stettin and had assailed their territory with armed ships. After they had been once again repulsed and would not abandon their attacks, the men of Stettin began with one accord to arm themselves and to meet those who came against them with united forces. Why say more? The Ruthenians were scattered with so great a slaughter and so many of them were taken away as slaves that those who were able to escape made no further attack upon the victors. The men of Stettin, elated by this victory, rendered honour to the Lord Jesus Christ and to His servant Otto. They no longer feared the Ruthenians, but having taken them as captives they forced upon them a humiliating and unworthy compact.]

XXIV. In the meantime the renowned King Lotharius and the other chiefs, being distressed at the prolonged absence of Otto, who had been wont more than any other bishop of that time by his counsels

and deeds to render his kingdom famous, in virtue of their authority over him begged and commanded him to return as quickly as possible. The king, who dearly loved him, even affirmed on oath that he would take back into his own ownership the property belonging to the Church, if the good pastor, by his much-desired return, failed very soon to console and reinvigorate his spouse the Church of Bamberg, which had so long been widowed. The apostle of Pomerania was unable to offer any resistance to these messages and was forced to return to his own place before he received the reply of the Danish archbishop.

When he had visited and confirmed in the faith the faithful who lived round about and had commended them to Christ in whom they had believed, he set out on his journey with his companions. When he had made progress on his journey and had reached Polonia, the Duke Boleslav, who was an old friend, received him with due honour and respect and detained him with him in the metropolitan church of Gnezna, and with such great eagerness did he listen to his mellifluous teaching that when eight days had passed, he was reluctant to allow the beloved father to depart. When at length by the help of Christ the long-protracted travels of His messenger were completed, the new apostle of our time made glad by his coming his own church on the vigil of St. Thomas the Apostle, when all the people, clergy and laity, and persons of both sexes ran together and received him as a messenger of God. With what indescribable delight and spiritual joy did the believers in Christ, to whom in a special sense the holy bishop had been a father and a nurse, receive their pastor as though he had been restored from the grave after his long-continued wanderings, and after he had gained a new flock for the supreme Father of all! What a delight it was to see and hear so great a multitude of Christ's

soldiers, which included not only regular clergy but also monks, imbued with the same ardour and devotion and with tears of spiritual joy singing melodiously as they met him, "O Lord, receive me so that I may be with my brethren with whom thou hast called me." Very appropriate were these beautiful words of the apostle St. John, whom Otto had specially chosen as his patron, and to whom in his secret prayers he daily commended himself and his own death, words which were sung to him with joyful hearts and lips by all his sons as he returned in triumph after his second apostolic journey. For this blessed one, mindful of the word of the Lord who spake by the prophet, "Whoso glorifieth me, him will I glorify, and they that despise me shall have no glory,"[1] honourably and dutifully displayed to God and His saints the zeal which other bishops and chiefs bestowed on earthly gains and on the building of castles and towns. His zeal was displayed in the building of churches, in the foundation of new cells for the faithful, and in adorning by noble gifts those that had been constructed by others, as he desired to erect habitations which might not presently fall because they had been built upon sand, but might endure for ever because they had been built upon firm rock.

XXV. One of our brethren, the holy priest Lippoldus, five years before the falling asleep of our blessed father, was counted worthy to see a vision in which the Lord revealed to him the glory of the building which Otto had accomplished. He saw, as he directed his gaze over against the east, a certain lofty mountain which contained all manner of delights. Its beautiful summit he was unable to ascend, but standing below he saw a great multitude of people of both sexes and of all ages engaged in drawing over the top of the mountain vast

[1] 1 Sam. ii. 30.

numbers of precious stones, and they exulted greatly and sung together with sweet voices a delightful song which he was not able to understand. He drew near, albeit with halting step, and called one of the singers who was distinguished for his venerable appearance, and asked what this multitude was and why they were drawing these precious stones towards the summit of the mountain. He replied, "We are those who received charity and kindness from the holy Otto, and we are therefore building a costly house for him on the crest of this mountain." To him Lippoldus said, "And when will this house be completed?" He answered, "After five years; when the house is completed we shall bring him to it with joy and exultation. But beware that thou declare not this to him before the five years are completed." When he had said this the vision was taken away from him. We heard this from the mouth of this old man Lippoldus at the time when our blessed father fell asleep. He fell asleep worn out with grevious and long-protracted sickness on the seventh day before the Ides of August and rested in the Lord after making a happy end.

To return to earlier events, our holy father Otto, when he returned after his long travel, visited, as his custom was, those of us with whom he was of one heart and soul and inquired which of us during his absence had gone the way of all flesh. He was ever wont to make this inquiry in fatherly fashion when he returned from any journey. At that time Adalbert the almoner of sacred memory, who was a true servant of God and a great friend of his, and whom he had served with indefatigable mind and body, had migrated to Christ. When the blessed man heard of his departure he burst into tears and exclaimed that he was unfortunate because he had not been counted worthy to perform the funeral rites for so blessed a soul when he migrated to the land of

eternal light. This same brother Adalbert was inflamed with so great a fire of divine love that he sighed and shed many tears day by day for the pleasures of the celestial country, while his body grew correspondingly thinner as a result of his fasting and watching. The care of the poor had been entrusted to this servant of God, who acted with so great humility and devotion that, like the monk Martirius, to whom St. Gregory refers,[1] he would carry lepers on his shoulders, and lepers and others, who were afflicted with various diseases and whom it was horrible to behold, he would gladly tend and bathe with his own hands. The holy Otto rejoiced at his fervour and supplied liberally all that was needed in ministering to the multitudes who were in need. Nor was he content in doing this, but in time of famine he ministered to the poor himself, in order that he might present a sacrifice acceptable to God, not only by the offering of gifts but by the sweat of his own body.

When, owing to the extent of the famine, an innumerable number of people came to him from every district, some who were stronger snatched with violence the food from the hands of those who were weaker. The holy man, who could not bear their cries and complaints, acted with great prudence and gave orders to his companions that when the people began to assemble they should first gather together those who were stronger and shut them up in a dining-hall till he had with his own hands provided suitable food for the weak and infirm. He then ordered these to retire and to go at once to a distance so that when their companions came from the dining-hall, they should not again become a prey to them. After this he went in to the poor people who were shut up and gave them a bountiful supply of food, and at the same time told them that they should not again treat

[1] *S. Gregorii in evangelia*, L. II. Homilia 39, c. 10.

their own brethren with violence. Such was his conduct amongst his own people. To Christ's poor who lived beyond his country and across the sea he showed his liberality by means of faithful messengers. By the hands of our beloved brother Eberhard, who was still fighting for Christ in the ranks of the regular clergy, he sent presents to Jerusalem, as he was wont to do for those good men who visited the Lord's sepulchre. But the largest sum of money that he sent was despatched through our brother Swigger during a time of famine to the Hirsaugien and other still more distant monasteries, and thus was the good odour of Christ diffused in every place.[1]

XXVI. When then in a good old age the course of this present life had been completed and the time drew near that the faithful steward of the supreme Father should enter into the joy of his Lord, the holy Otto was vehemently afflicted with bodily pain and with loss of blood in order that, having been purified like gold in the furnace of sickness, he might become worthy to enter the hall into which nothing that is defiled may enter. He being mindful of the Scripture which saith, "Whom the Lord loveth He reproveth,"[2] and of another place in which the Lord Himself saith, "Those whom I love I censure and chasten,"[3] gave thanks amidst his sickness and, desiring greatly to behold the King of glory in His beauty, as day by day he breathed with difficulty, he commended his departure to God and St. Michael and the apostle St. John, whom he had chosen as his special patrons. And as he, who was the great light of the Church, began to be dulled by infirmity, he brought upon the Christians who had ever been cared for by his kindness and forethought an immeasurable cloud of sorrow and distress. The holy father, however, as far as he was able, sought to wipe away by consoling words the

[1] Cf. 2 Cor. ii. 15. [2] Prov. iii. 12. [3] Rev. iii. 19.

tears of his sons. So completely did he compel his limbs that were wearied with disease to become subject to his spirit that, except on the day of his death, he never lay down on a couch, but sat day by day in his own place, walking sometimes with the help of a stick, singing psalms and praying and being occasionally anointed with the oil reserved for the sick, not while lying down, but while sitting. When then the most sacred festival of the apostles Peter and Paul drew near, the bishop, seeing that the day of his summons was at hand, called Egilbert the deacon of the larger church who succeeded him as bishop.[1] In the presence of the abbots and priests who were standing by he commended to him all that he possessed, and said, "This is the birthday of Peter, my lord and chief of the apostles, and of Paul. I pray that you will offer the things that God has given me to Peter so that he may himself deign to open to me the gate of the celestial kingdom, and with his colleague Paul, the teacher of the Gentiles, may speedily lead me into that kingdom. Tend the place where I shall rest, that is the hill of my patron the archangel Michael, as though it were myself, and for the comfort of my soul keep constant watch over its progress both in spiritual and in temporal matters. For ye know how poor and base and destitute of all monastic activity this place was found by me and how, by the help of God through the agency of my ministry, it has advanced to so great a height in the spiritual life, so that it is now regarded by all as the standard and ornament of all the monasteries in this district. God grant that this reputation may continue untarnished to the end, and to all who keep faith and reverence may He grant unending peace and blessing here. For the rest I commend your love and my whole flock to the Chief Pastor who has deigned to commit you to my

[1] He was bishop from 1139 to 1146.

care; may He himself mark you for me as complete in the repose of His eternal light."

When he had given them his blessing, which was accompanied by tears that witnessed his fatherly love, he sent them away. When he had received the mystery of salvation which was the provision for his journey,[1] he continued watching and praying in order that he might open with joy to his Lord when He should knock and call. In the time in which the festival of the apostle St. Peter was being celebrated, when his body was already dead and he was about to breathe his last, in heart and will he was intent upon the praise of God, and when the clergy were performing their morning service of praise in his presence, with raised hands and eyes uplift in eager desire, he took part in what was being read and gave thanks to God with what voice he possessed. Thus the holy Otto on the sixth day[2] at the first hour of the day rendered up his spirit to God and entered into the enjoyment of the abodes of the blessed and of Christ whom he had ever so greatly loved.

And now did swift-travelling rumour, the herald of so great a grief,[3] smite with indescribable grief, not only the neighbouring monasteries but others which were at a distance and which had been constantly provided by him with the necessaries of life. Nor was their grief without cause. For when the Lord took away their beloved father He had shown His people hard things. He had made them drink of the wine of sorrow[4] and had made them drunk with absinthe.[5] Under his protection and with the help of his alms the Church had flourished and had enjoyed peace for a long period during which monastic life had advanced daily towards perfection. What patron

[1] Viaticum.
[2] June 30.
[3] et jam fama volans, tanti prænuncia luctus. The words are quoted from Virgil, *Aen.* xi. 139.
[4] Ps. lix. 5.
[5] Lam. iii 15.

would there be henceforth to solace Christ's poor? He could rightly say with the apostle, "Who is weak and I am not weak? Who is offended and I burn not?"[1] Who ever came to him in sadness and did not go away rejoicing? Who ever sought aid of him in trouble and did not obtain it? It was therefore with good reason that the Church lamented his departure, inasmuch as it had been made glad by his life. But faith in the resurrection checks our tears, though it extracts a groan, for we experience a sacred exultation in view of his glory, though we have a holy grief in view of his departure. Those who weep may be forgiven, those who rejoice may be congratulated, for it is good to rejoice for Otto and it is good to weep for Otto, for each one shows that it is on his own account that he laments, whilst he owes it to him that he can rejoice.

His revered body was tended by pious men and treated with spices and was carried from one monastery to another and honoured by watchings and by celebrations of the mass. It was finally received with fitting honour at the hill of St. Michael the archangel who was his special patron, and was laid there in the church which he had rebuilt from the foundation and enlarged after it had fallen into ruin through age. An incredible multitude of men assembled there for the funeral ceremony. The whole town hastened to meet the body, all came from the fields and neighbouring villages and many from other towns and districts. How great was the universal grief! Specially great were the lamentations of the monks and of Christ's poor, who had for so long rested peacefully like chickens under the wings of their holy father, and who regarded themselves as deprived of the much-loved presence of their supporter and as stripped of their defence.

[1] 2 Cor. xi. 29.

It is impossible to describe without a groan how when the priests brought the sacred body to the choir of St. Michael to be buried, when they came to the threshold the precentor uttered the antiphon, "O Lord, receive me," and the lamentations of all present broke forth to such an extent that even the bearers of the coffin, overcome with weeping, bent down and nearly fell prostrate. The mass was then celebrated by the venerable bishop Imbrico of Wurtzburg. The bishop in a pleasing discourse addressed to the people—his words were as the sound of thunder—adapted to the person of the holy Otto the testimony of the prophet Jeremiah who said, "The Lord hath called thee a rich, beautiful, fruitful and fair olive;"[1] and by the sweetness of his honeyed discourse he won the admiration of all so that they believed that the Holy Spirit had spoken by his mouth. In this manner was the body of the beloved father placed in the tomb in front of the altar of St. Michael the archangel, which from that time forward was constantly tended by the devotion of the faithful. And lest the attached flock of this most vigilant pastor should be deprived of its treasures, even his intestines, after they had been treated with aromatic spices, were cut out and placed in an urn and committed to the ground in the midst of the chapel of the Mother of God. They were marked too with a round stone so that when the brethren came thither to perform the duties of divine service by night and by day, they might have the memory of their beloved before their eyes and might by their constant prayers uplift his blessed soul to the highest heaven.

Imbrico, bishop of blessed memory, after the burial of the holy Otto, continued to tend with great love the hill of St. Michael. With sighs of grief he was wont to declare that he had never beheld equal

[1] Jer. xi. 16

glory attached to any other relics, and that the people of Bamberg were to be regarded as blessed, inasmuch as after the death of their pastor they had shown by convincing proofs with what ardent love they had ever clung to him when he was alive.

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